

PERSONALITY ASSESSMENT
AND DIAGNOSIS

A Clinical and Experimental Technique

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PERSONALITY ASSESSMENT AND DIAGNOSIS

A Clinical and Experimental Technique

EDWARD BENNETT

THE MITRE CORPORATION

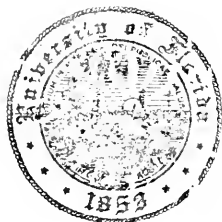
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PREFACE

This book presents a method of personality assessment designed to be equally applicable to clinical and experimental needs. Clinical practice calls for diagnostic information rich in depth of symptomatic meaning. By comparison, experimental research requires information which is open to numerical analysis and is rigorously reproducible. The method here called polydiagnostic aims to provide a common ground between the qualitative requirements of the clinician and the quantitative demands of the experimentalist.

The book begins with a summary and systematization of the dynamics of emotions, thinking, and personality. There follows a detailed description of the new method: a technique for eliciting evidence of subjective feelings by means of multiple forced-choice judgments among series of emotionally laden terms. The clinical value of the technique is displayed through a number of case histories of normal and abnormal personalities, and its effectiveness for experimental inquiry is illustrated by the results of an actual research project. Thus the book gives sufficient background information to permit the application of the method to a wide variety of clinical and research problems in a number of professional disciplines.

The technique has the advantage of being easy to administer, and the results appear in a form convenient for interpretation. Any trained diagnostician or research worker can use the procedure without special additional training. However, it must be emphasized that clinical use by untrained and unsophisticated persons can lead to painfully false conclusions with the possibility of emotional harm. It must also be carefully noted that the method is not a test. It is a technique for eliciting a configuration of digital responses quickly and efficiently. These responses can be examined intuitively or by a computer with equal facility, but they do not test anything. Tests can probably be developed on the basis of this type of data, but each testing procedure would have to be evaluated against its own specific criteria for its own purposes.

So many have contributed ideas to this book that to acknowledge them all would turn a general presentation into a bibliographical survey. Therefore, I have adopted the way of the physical and biological sciences; I have assumed that major ideas are now in the nature of general scientific information and may thus be discussed

without mentioning the names of the contributors. In this way a personal omission is intended more as a compliment to a man's ideas than as a disservice to his person. References to specific works are of two kinds: first, to works reflecting our own investigations, so that the reader may refer to other facets of this effort; second, to works so closely connected with some technical highlight that mention of them is mandatory.

I would like to thank those who have made funds available for my investigations. Part of the effort was assisted by the Link Foundation. Much of my work was assisted by a grant from a foundation which wishes to remain anonymous, but which was willing to supply funds under the uncommon terms of "use your own judgment as to how they shall be spent."

I would like to express my appreciation to Douglas McGregor and H. H. Remmers, who first taught me that the science of man is far from simple-minded; to Harriet Goodwin, dependable associate and good girl Friday; to Larry Cohen for his research contributions; to Sylvia Pilsucki, who had editorial responsibility for the manuscript before it was sent to the publishers.

I would especially express my indebtedness to my wife, Dorothy, who has worked as my professional colleague during the research, the clinical activities, the writing, and especially the thinking which has gone into this work. She more than any one other person has helped make it possible. Although I must accept full responsibility for the shortcomings of our effort, she must equally share responsibility for the accomplishments.

Edward Bennett

Boston, Massachusetts
February, 1961

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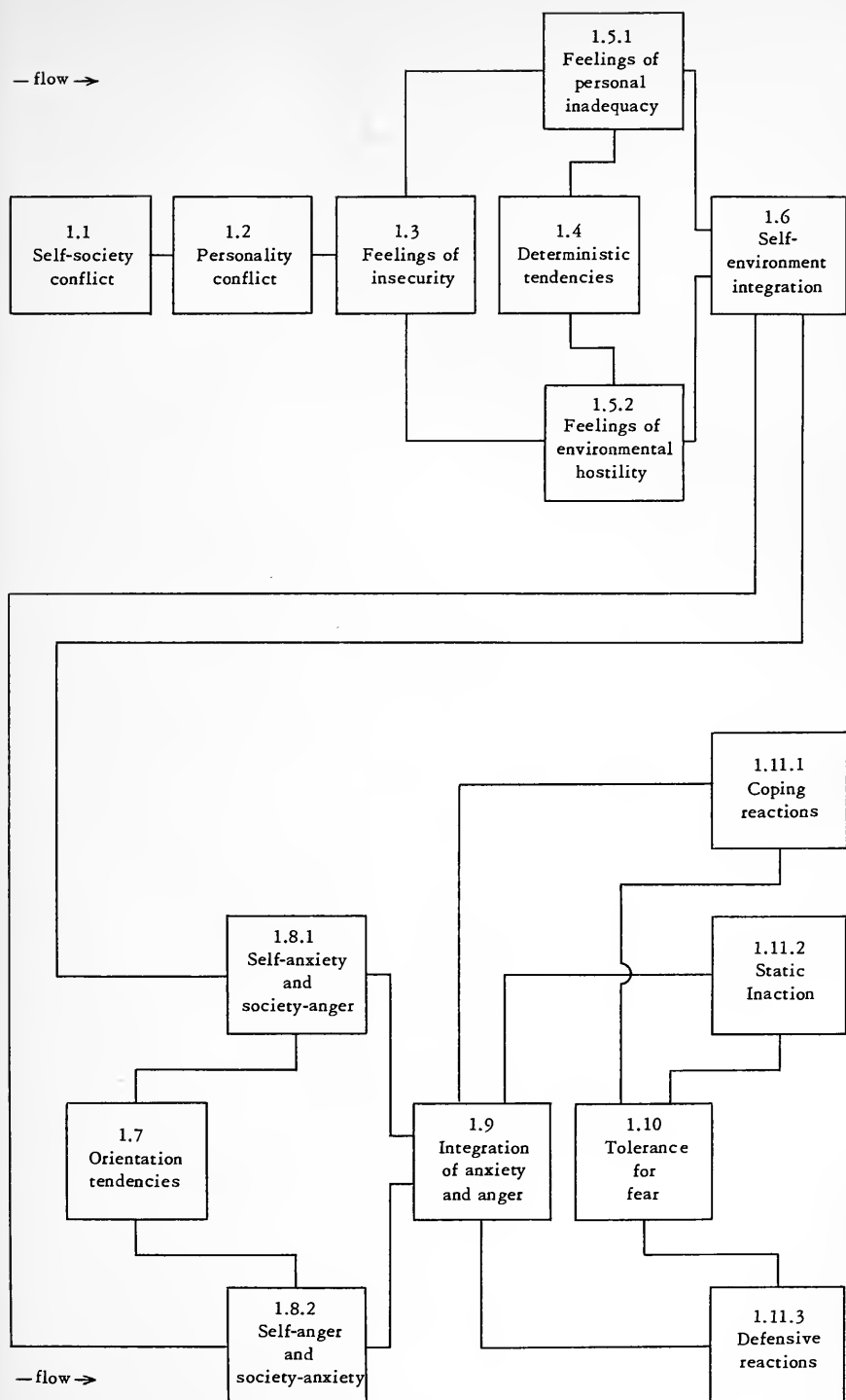
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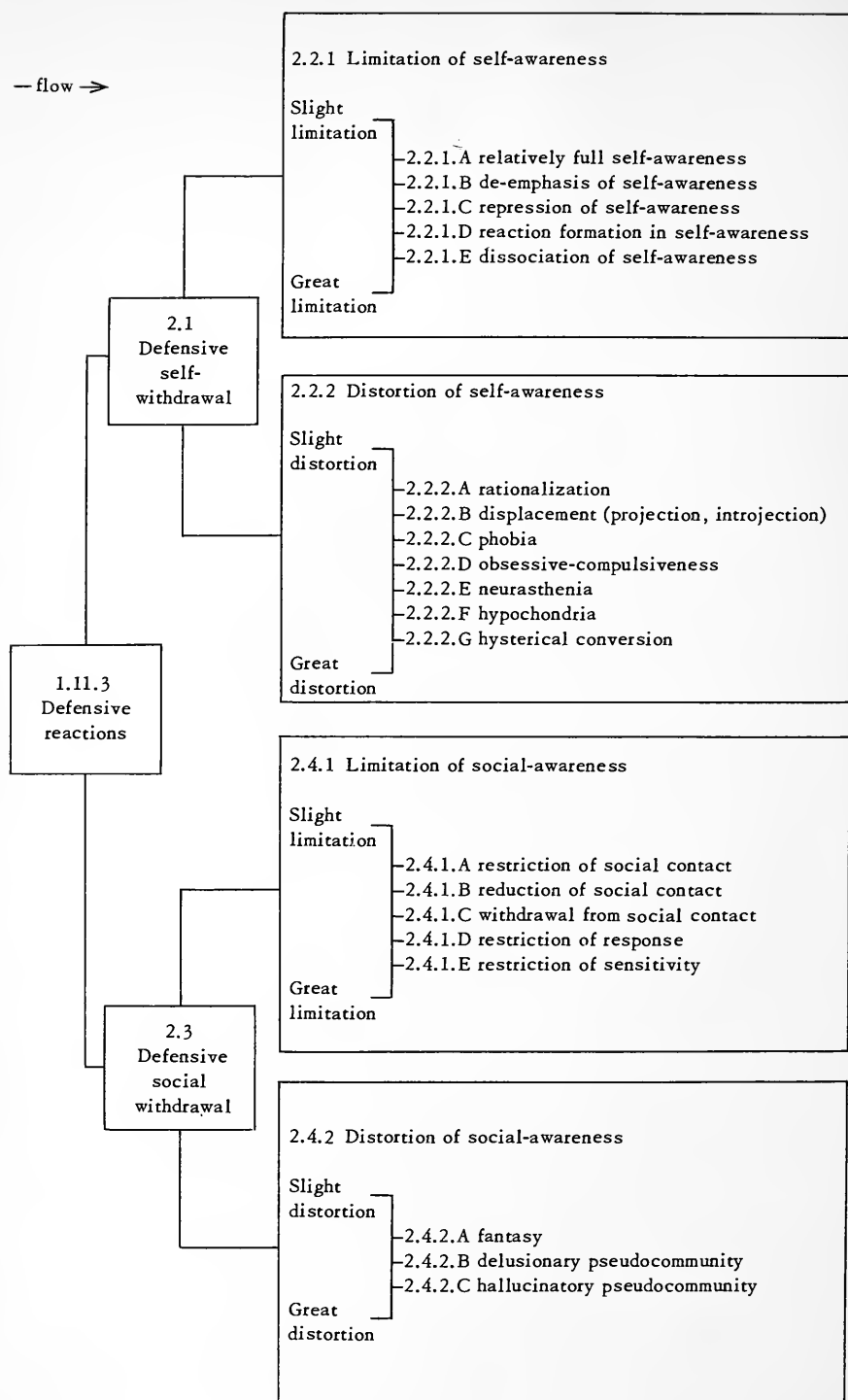
Part I

Subjective Reactions to Emotional Threat

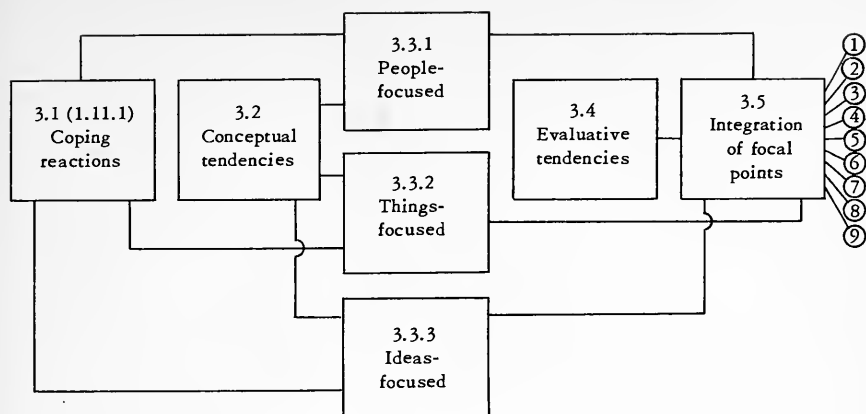


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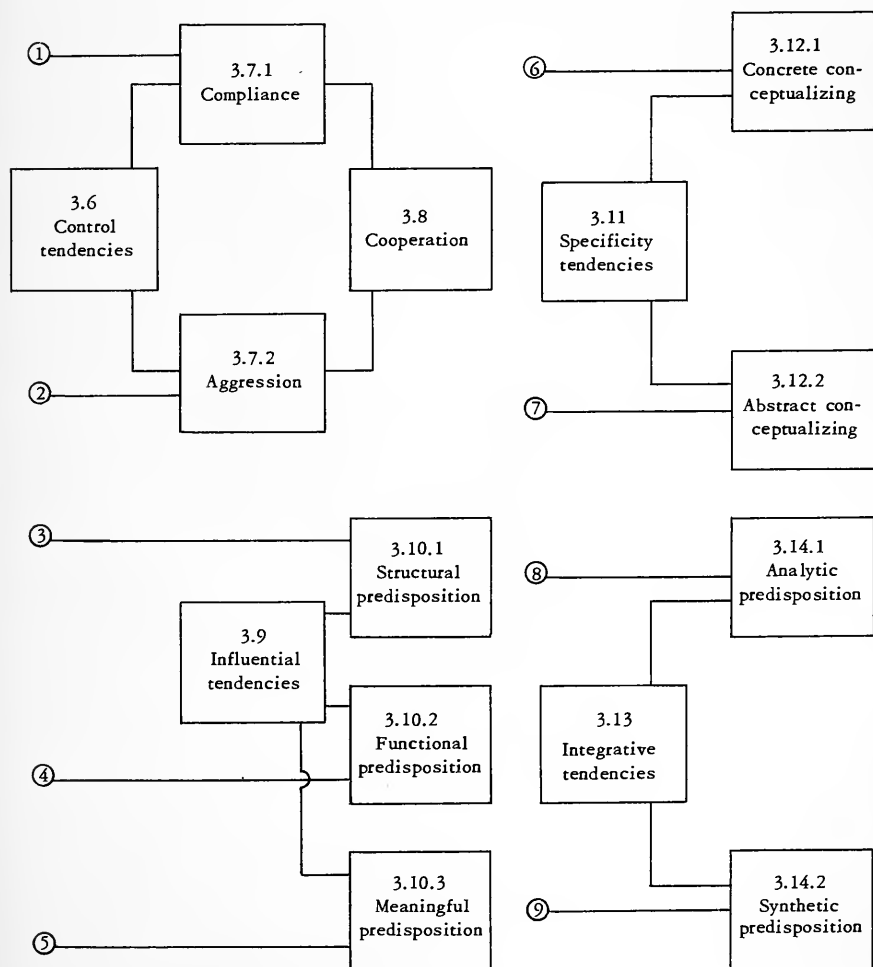
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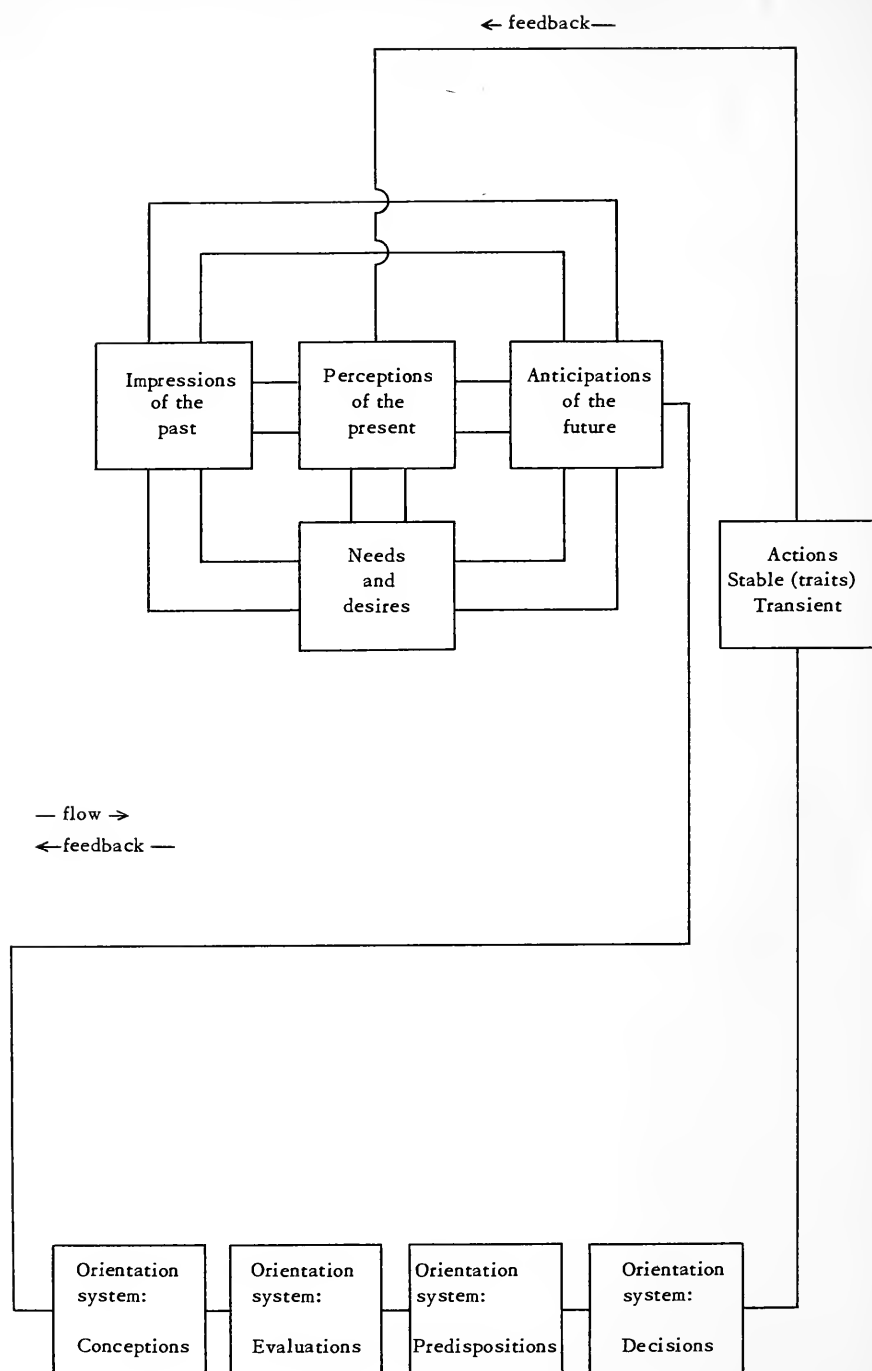
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Subjective reactions to emotional threat.

CHAPTER 1

MENTAL HEALTH AND MALADJUSTMENT

Maladjustment and abnormality are only slightly related. Maladjustment grows from conflicts within a person's personality, conflicts that result in the person's inability to integrate his needs, past experience, and immediate perception so as to evolve a gratifying and enjoyable solution to his problems. As such, a maladjusted person's problems need not be unusual and may be well within the limits of normal social expectations. Often they are a direct outgrowth of the conflicts and inconsistencies within his society itself. Normal social conflicts can produce a social community in which maladjustment and unhappiness are the rule, the mode, and the custom. In such a world, mental health is abnormal.

In any case, whether a person's conflicts are normal or abnormal, his maladjustment appears as a separate and distinct product of these conflicts. The process by which his maladjustment evolves is a universal process equally applicable in those people unfortunate enough to be institutionalized, in those even more unfortunate people who should be and are not, and in those normal people who live their lives in daily routines that give them little or no real pleasure and satisfaction. For all, conflict is commonplace. The process by which either maladjustment or mental health grows from such conflict is briefly as follows. See Figure 1-1.

1.1 The self-society conflict. The structure of society demands and imposes limitations on a person's freedom to seek the gratification of his needs. The basic biological man is channeled, more or less unwillingly, into pathways that will theoretically permit more widespread, better regulated, and more equitable distribution of the available satisfiers for all. The net effect is a continuous set of imposed inhibitions, frustrations, restrictions, and oppositions to his individual gratification.

From his earliest experiences with weaning, toilet training, sexual and eating regulations, culturally imposed friendship patterns, etc., a child learns that gratification is a sometime thing. Satisfaction is governed largely by cultural taboos, and even adulthood does not reduce the burden of social living. The basic conflict

between the pleasure-seeking, need-satisfaction-desiring animal man and his social setting continues.

For each individual this fundamental pattern of conflict sets up an important set of unique and personal frustrations. Many of these are fairly common within the cultural setting. Others are private and stem from special situations within the life of the person. Varying in magnitude, this fundamental self-society conflict serves as the basis and origin of immediate and future maladjustment. Conflict and dissatisfaction stem from this natural setting which demands compromises from all people. Under some conditions these natural compromises are so distasteful as to produce intense emotional reactions. These are the maladjustments.

Under other conditions the compromises are easily made and adjusted to. Gratification is gained to the ultimate possible within the bounds of social living. However, even these effective adjustments do not always come easily, and some displeasure accompanies all forms of social interaction. No animal gratification is ever obtained completely free of social control and limitation.

The fundamental conflict between society and the gratification-seeking animal man leads to:

1.2 Personality conflict. The history of a person's past experiences establishes his understanding that various modes of action lead to grief. Other ways are more or less acceptable under some conditions. The most direct and potentially effective actions are usually out of the question, since they often represent antisocial directions. Depending on the situation: some ways work, many others do not.

Each immediate situation suggests the need for certain actions in order to gain the gratification of immediate needs. Past experience, however, suggests that many of the best means are taboo and dangerous. From this conflict between a person's impressions of the past, his perception of the present, and his immediate needs, stem the roots of his discontent.

With a history of conflict behind him, the individual perceives himself in greater or lesser conflict whenever he seeks to satisfy his needs. Whenever the past restricts the acceptable modes excessively, the future must look bleak. Almost nothing can be done without danger. Personality conflict is most noticeable when immediate needs are related to needs highly punished in the past. And these are the needs that most demand gratification, having gone unsatisfied so long. These are also the needs around which appears the most detailed history of punishment and frustration. The past suggests little but failure in the present.

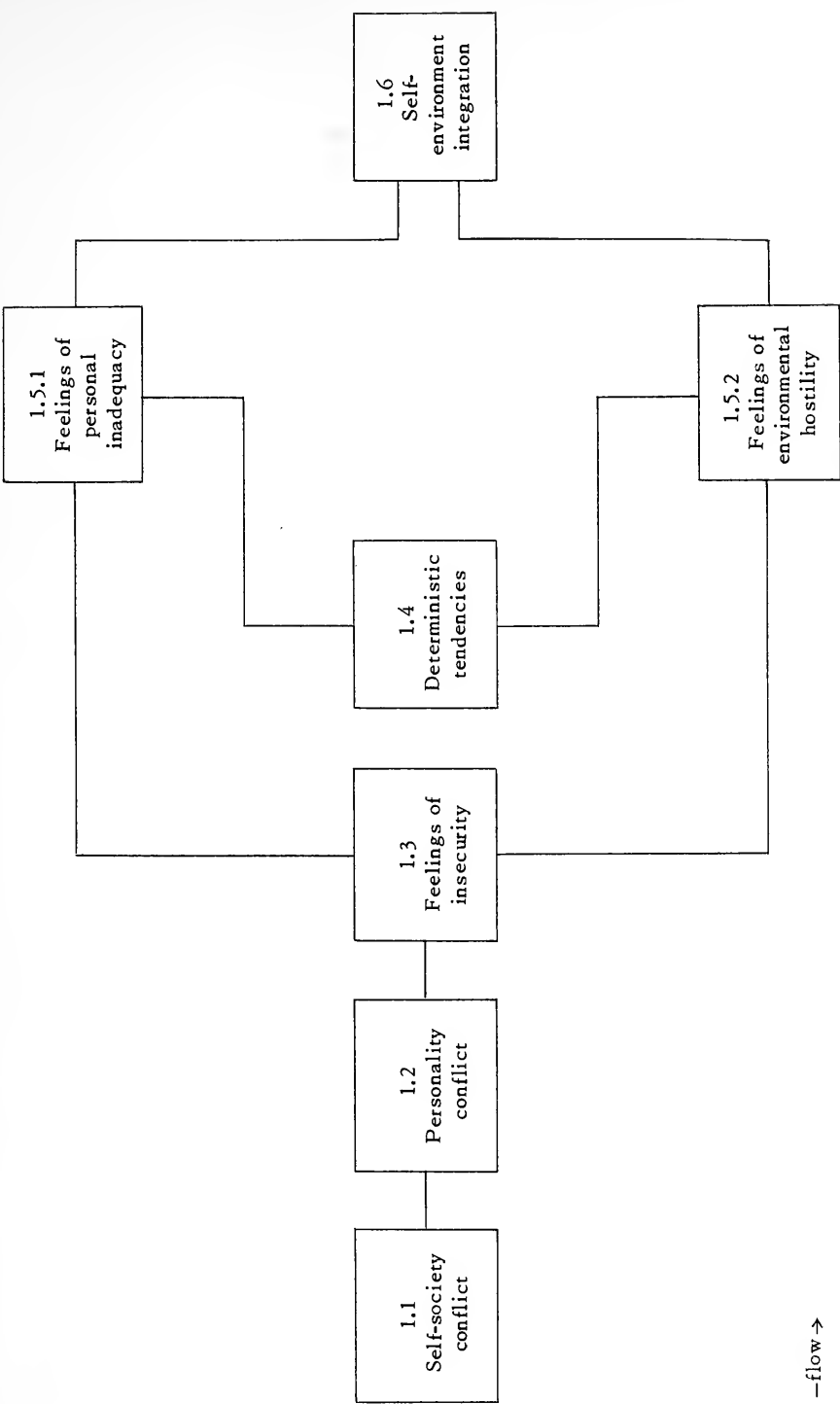


Fig. 1-1. Trends in mental health and maladjustment.

The basic conflict among needs, a punishing past, and an unattractive present leads to:

1-3 Feelings of insecurity. Insecurity is a specific and concrete experience. To feel insecure is to anticipate frustration, punishment, and the absence of need-satisfaction in the future. Great feelings of insecurity stem from anticipating the intense absence of the satisfaction of important needs for prolonged periods into the future. The anticipation of future dissatisfaction is usually accompanied by a feeling that there isn't anything that can be done about it. If there were any real hope of rectifying the situation, feelings of insecurity would lessen, since gratification could then be anticipated sooner or later.

Feelings of insecurity may be the relatively specific fears of not satisfying basic sexual needs, basic hunger needs, basic elimination needs, basic temperature-control needs, etc. They may be extremely general, such as the anticipation of future death, loss of social contact, loss of adequacy to function effectively, etc. They may be short-lived—as with the child anticipating a spanking for a misdemeanor, or prolonged—as with the criminal living for years under the shadow of capture. They may be highly important—as in the case of the forty-five-year-old family man who suddenly loses his job, or quite trivial—as with the teen-ager who is laughed at for some gauche remark. Large or small, when a person experiences a feeling that the future holds a lack of need-satisfaction, the feeling is distasteful and unpleasant.

Feelings of insecurity are the very root of maladjustment. They represent the starting point for long histories of conflict and tension. As long as an individual feels that his future is full of trouble, he is strongly motivated toward action to counteract the situation. All such action is motivated by his discontent and his anticipation that things will be worse without the action than with it. These feelings of insecurity, often quite small, are the basis for any and all resultant activity, both adjustive and maladjustive.

One of the most common and most insistent mistakes made by psychotherapists is the assumption that feelings of insecurity are necessarily bad and should be counteracted. Certainly feelings of insecurity precede maladjustment and are seen by some diagnosticians as the culprit. However, students of healthy personality see the same feelings of insecurity trigger off well-adjustive, need-satisfying activity.

The choice between good and bad adjustment does not come from insecurity but from different ways of coping with, and adjusting to, feelings of insecurity and anticipated danger. Just as the

conflict between society and the self is natural and common, so personality conflict is natural and common, and feelings of insecurity are equally so. It is only the inadequate reaction to insecurity that broods difficulty. If reactions to insecurity are poor enough, even minor insecurity will be so disorganizing as to require hospitalization.

The feelings of future dissatisfaction and insecurity can be differentiated and specified according to the individual's:

1.4 *Deterministic tendencies.* Punishment, conflict, and dissatisfaction must have their roots. Within the social field, there are two good ways to explain one's difficulties. For many people, difficulties are the result of something they did or something they failed to do themselves. For some people, difficulties result from the doings of others. Fundamentally the environment is in active opposition to the self. But this is no clear dichotomy. Sometimes one person uses self-blame under one type of condition, environmental blame under another, and a blend under still some other. However, a detailed study of a person's personality will disclose fairly consistent and permanent tendencies toward associating either the self or the environment with reward and punishment.

For the self-deterministic condition, rewards result from personal competence, adequacy, and effective action. Punishment is the outgrowth of one's own stupidity, inadequacy, and limited skill. The environment is considered as a reactive agent that largely responds to the tune of personal worth. The success-through-competence orientation of the American culture supports the contention that one gets ahead by one's own effective action. This is the Horatio Alger pitch. This is the Lincoln, from Rail Splitter to President, approach to child raising. You have only yourself to blame. Man makes his own opportunities. To the victor belong the spoils. The road to hell is paved with good intentions.

On the other hand, training in environmental determinism, as opposed to self-determinism, produces a different orientation. Life is a matter of luck. It is all a matter of whom you know. People with money always make out. It is fate. The good die young.

For the self-deterministic, feelings of insecurity are largely the result of one's own personal failure and incapability. For the environmentally-deterministic, feelings of insecurity are largely the result of the environment's failure and hostility. This fundamental divergence in orientation produces fundamental differences in adjustment and maladjustment.

Under self-deterministic conditions on the one hand, feelings of insecurity are accompanied by intense:

1.5.1 Feelings of personal inadequacy. For the self-deterministic, each loss of satisfaction is a personal blow. It is evidence of personal inadequacy and failure. It suggests the likelihood of future difficulty, since it threatens any feeling of personal skill in coping with problems.

For the self-deterministic, most of life is one test of self-worth after another. Each conflict is a battlefield on which personal competence is put to the challenge. The world is a coliseum, each man a gladiator. Success brings not only basic need-satisfaction but also increased self-esteem and confidence. Failure not only threatens the animal and social desires but also threatens the egoistic needs. It suggests that one is not up to snuff.

One of the most impressive origins of this self-deterministic orientation is seen in the training of little boys in our culture. By and large, self-determinism is a male thing in America. The male grows up with the understanding that success comes through competition and challenge, effectively overcome. From the baseball diamond to the industrial-advancement race, success and competence go hand in hand. Financial rewards, like raises in salary or wages, are evidence of one's job well done, or of group demands and challenges fruitfully carried to victory. Even in leisure, competitive competence-oriented activities are encouraged for men. Whether one is a golf participant or baseball spectator, the dynamics are much the same. Egoistic gratification and increased self-esteem come with success. Self-depreciation comes with failure.

Self-determinism, however, is by no means exclusively the prerogative of the male. There is the more general training in adult independence and responsibility for both man and woman. To be adult is to be self-deterministic. One is expected to carry the burden of one's own responsibility. The adult is accountable for his improprieties and errors. He gains gratification through active participation in the adult community, through honest employment, community concern, effective housekeeping, proper child raising, and the like. Throughout, the accent is on competence and the correct performance of socially established roles.

Independence-training is also self-deterministic. Rather than depend on others for need-satisfaction, one gains rewards through one's own actions. Dependency on others leaves the control of a person's gratification with the environment. The self-deterministic core is thus most noticeable in the strongly socialized, independent adult male. Nevertheless, it is present in all individuals to a lesser extent. There is no pure division between masculinity and femininity, adulthood and childhood, dependency and independency.

The need for a feeling of competence, and the disquieting feelings of incompetence, are therefore a basic part of any maladjustment, varying only in extent.

In direct opposition to the self-deterministic tendencies are the environmentally-deterministic tendencies. With the conviction that the environment is the source of punishment and dissatisfaction come:

1.5.2 Feelings of environmental hostility. When one attributes his rewards or punishments to the environment, punishment must be the result of the hostility of the environment. The environment does not want me, need me, care for me. Since I am dependent on the environment for gratification, this is a most unfortunate circumstance. After all, there is nothing I can do about it; the environment has control.

This type of environmental dependency is characteristic of childhood, femininity, and dependency-training. The child is truly dependent on the environment for reward and punishment. In reality he has far less control over his pleasures than does the adult. He is small, helpless, socially inferior, dominated, and dependent. Often he is unwanted, frustrated, and rejected. The net effect can well establish patterns of environmental-determinism and intense feelings of environmental hostility.

Young girls in our culture are trained toward environmental determinism. They are encouraged to seek dependent and subordinate positions in the social world. This may be a lessening cultural tendency but nevertheless still of high intensity and importance. Meaning comes to a successful woman through her husband, her social community, and her family. Competence runs second to environmental appreciation. To be needed and wanted, accepted and cared for is of importance. Striving for advancement, skills, and competence is largely left to the male.

To a large extent her concept of femininity is associated with being pretty, well dressed, socially attractive, and complementary to the male. Again the accent is on establishing a situation in which one is accepted by a friendly and powerful environment capable of satisfying needs.

The most striking evidence of environmental determinism is seen in the cultural "love" craze. Love is a state of social affairs in which rewards, satisfaction, and gratification come to an individual from the environment without counteractive demands for competence. One is loved for one's self, not for what one can do. Love in this sense is synonymous with extreme environmental friendliness and the absence of hostility.

The need to be loved, to be wanted, to be cared for, is usually focused. For children it is a need to be loved by the parents, especially the mother. Without mother love, all is lost. Gratification is dependent on this central figure's good will and cooperation.

For the woman in the American culture, love is usually romantic love—the love of a competent, socially acceptable, and sexually effective male. Once more we see a focus on the powerful agent of gratification. Economic, sexual, social rewards, ideally culminating in marriage and a family, result from “a true love.”

For any dependent person, environmental friendliness or love is of major importance. An employee needs the good will of his boss. Strangers in town seek the friendship of established members of the community. The hostility of a dominant, authoritarian, or leadership person must lead to some degree of low need-satisfaction and increased feelings of insecurity.

Again one must be cautioned against perceiving the need for competence and the need for love separately. They are theoretically dichotomous; practically always they blend into a:

1-6 Self-environment integration. No individual is ever completely one or the other, self- or environmentally-deterministic. In each case there are personality areas that are strongly in one direction, other areas equally strongly in the other.

For example, some might oppose the idea that femininity is an environmentally-deterministic state. They would argue that femininity means responsible and competent care of a home and a family. It means effective aid for the sick and especially for the children. It means participation in community affairs and political concerns. Such is not to be denied. However, it misses the realization that these are not *feminine*, but *adult*; adult female certainly, but the outgrowth of adulthood training, not female training.

The adult female, the matron, can never separate her adulthood and her femininity. Nevertheless, one part reads romantic stories carefully placed in woman's magazines side-by-side with sewing, cooking, housekeeping, child-raising articles. The articles are read by the other part of the same person.

Actually this is a real conflict for adult women. To be adult is to be independent, competence-oriented, skillful, and self-gratifying. To feel like a woman, however, many women must feel dependent, love-oriented, and environmentally secure. Much maladjustment stems from the inability to reconcile this conflict in integration.

The conflict in integration is equally real for the male. As a child, reward comes from his proper conformity and compliance

to a dependency role. Parental love leads to gratification, and compliant dependency leads to parental love. As the male child grows older, he is suddenly confronted by the need for masculinity. Now he must learn to be independent, self-assertive, not pushed around. As an adolescent or young adult, reward will come from competence. However, even at this age in many family groups the subservient role must not be forgotten. At this point the resultant conflict is often intense.

Occasionally the problem is reconciled in childhood by a set of clearly established lines of demarcation. As the boy grows older, he remembers to be a child to his mother, a man to his age-mates. Now it is dependent conformity at home; independent (often aggressive) leadership with associates. However, for many, such a compartmentalization of personality cannot be readily accomplished.

As the male child grows into manhood, the need to fall back into an environmental-love childhood orientation may rise during times of conflict and incompetence. Once again to be in the loving arms of the mother, or of some mother-substitute supportive female, is important. At such times difficulty in reconciling a deep need to be dependently loved with an equally deep need for independent power and control may trigger off prolonged maladjustment.

At any time, for any situation, frustrations will be associated with either a feeling of incompetence or a feeling of environmental hostility. In each specific situation, one of these two points of view is dominant. But for each specific individual, different situations will produce different accents. Only in the most general sense might we say that a specific person was predominantly one or the other, self- or environmentally-deterministic.

A person's needs to feel adequate and to feel that his environment is friendly blend so that various situations elicit varying degrees of both desires. Under some conditions it is more threatening to feel inadequate; under other conditions, the greater insecurity comes from feeling unloved. However, for any person there appears to be a fairly consistent tendency to accent one area or the other, and this would appear, as outlined in Figure 1-2, to relate to his equally consistent:

1.7 Orientation tendencies. These are a person's tendencies to orient his actions on the basis of information he receives either from the general environment or from himself.

At one extreme is a consistent preoccupation with social forces. Standards and conventions are very important. Deviations, uncon-

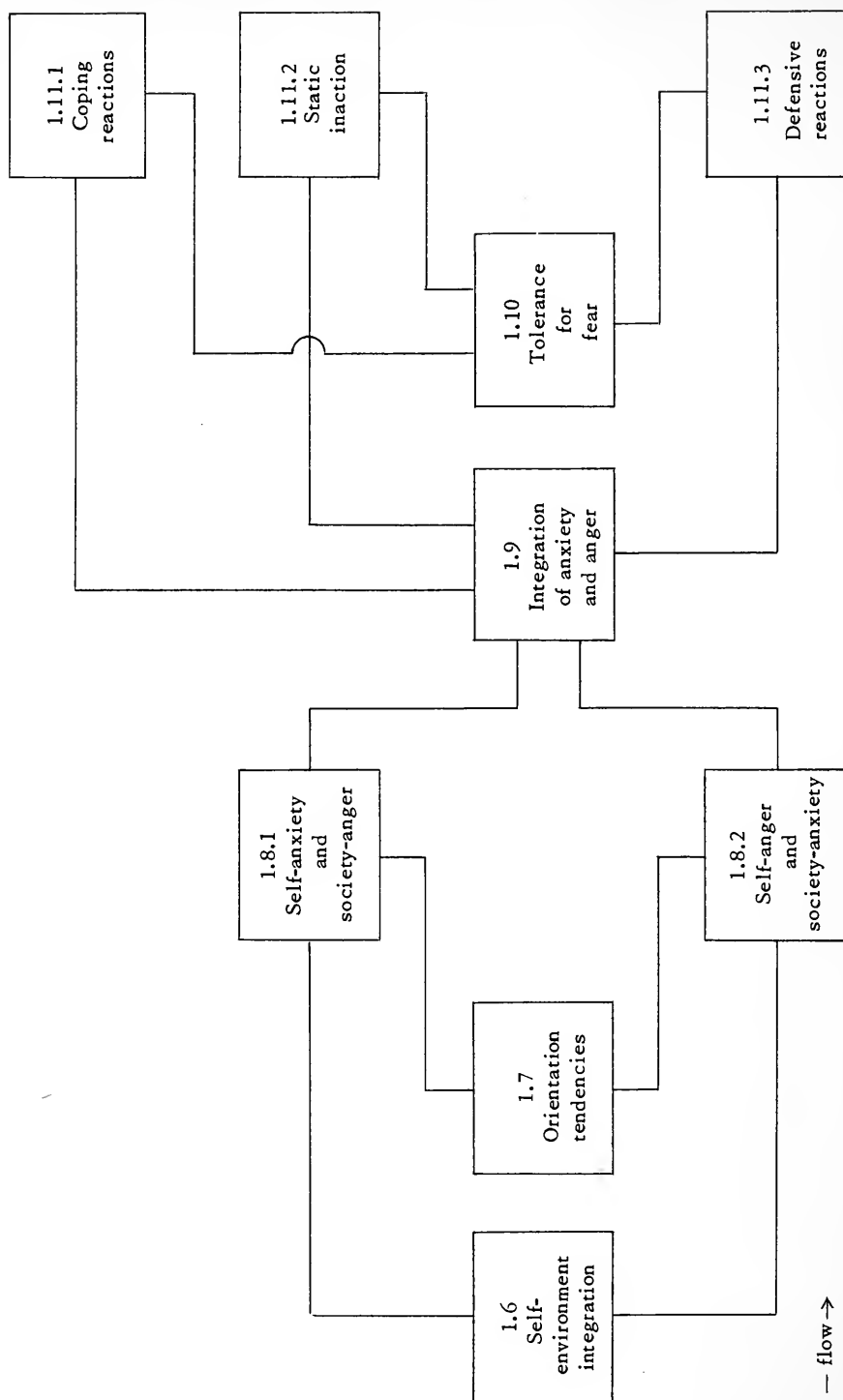


Fig. 1-2. Trends in anxiety and anger reactions.

ventional thoughts or actions are taboo and herald punishment. Social situations are of great importance because they supply clues as to what is acceptable and proper. Independent of his personal considerations, his environment is his guide to action. He does what others do, what others say to do, and what others indicate is proper. The norms, conventions, and conformity patterns of important groups serve as vital pathways—even though they may not lead him to any real personal gratification and adjustment.

At the other extreme, a person is preoccupied with the self. He orients his behavior around his own personal objectives and personal value systems. However, even this inner-orientation had to be learned at one time from someone outside the self, usually from early childhood hero and power figures. The parents and other important agents helped mold his personality. Now, having been so structured to a large extent, the self takes over and maintains its own direction. The person is guided by what *he* thinks is right or wrong, good or bad, proper or improper—not by what others think. His behavior therefore is more likely to remain consistent for prolonged periods of time. He maintains the same self-direction even when this prolonged consistency becomes a noticeable rigidity and maladjustive inflexibility.

A considerable amount of attention has been given to this difference in concern with the self or with the environment. The most important historical figure to focus on this area is Jung,¹ with his depth studies of introversion and extroversion. The most recent analyst of the subject is Riesman,² with his studies of inner- and other-directed people. Only a few points concerning this difference need be noted here. First, society-oriented people can be either self-deterministic or environmentally-deterministic. For the society-oriented and self-deterministic, the adequate modes are those that the environment suggests. One feels competent while performing socially proper actions. For the society-oriented and environmentally-deterministic individual, the all-important love and friendship come with social awareness, conformity, and normalcy.

Similarly, self-oriented tendencies and either self- or environmentally-deterministic tendencies may combine. Being self-oriented and self-deterministic, the individual acts competently whenever he acts according to his own standards and value, more or less independent of the immediate social patterns.

¹ C. G. Jung, *Psychological types or the psychology of individuation* (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926).

² D. Riesman, *The lonely crowd: a study of the changing American character* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950).

The self-oriented and environmentally-deterministic individual anticipates love and friendliness to the same extent to which they were received in early childhood. The memory of his childhood days is a more important guide than is the immediate social scene. Since the memory is inside himself, again the self is his source of information.

In general we may speak of a person's tendency toward self-orientation as introversion. Such a term suggests an orientation based largely upon inner-world experiences, personal plans, and limited social contact. It often implies only a minor gregariousness, although this need not necessarily be the case. The self-oriented person can have a large circle of social contacts, but he will be little influenced by their standards and pressures. He adheres to roles he sets for himself.

A tendency toward society-orientation is often referred to as extratensiveness. Here the implication is that a person's concern and tension are triggered off by external factors. Again there can be an erroneous implication that the extratensive person must be gregarious. This is not the case. It is often common to see people with limited social contacts who are nevertheless extremely dependent on social pressures for guidance. In contemporary culture, the availability of a huge social world through the movies, television, radio, magazines, and newspapers makes it unnecessary to have many close friends in order to know what the social pressures are. Strongly extratensive people can, if they desire, simply pattern themselves after the contemporary values of the TV or movie world.

For the person who is largely society-oriented, the blend of his orientation tendencies with all that we have discussed previously must lead him to:

1.8.1 Self-anxiety (fear of self) and society-anger (rage against others). To the extent to which a person is sensitized to the environment, his frustrations, threats, insecurities, and dangers produce specific effects. Since most of his major difficulties can be attributed to some form of self-society conflict, and since he feels that his society is right, proper, and just, then by a simple logic, he himself must be bad, wrong, evil, and at fault. The result is his rather intense feelings of personal inadequacy and environmental hostility. The origin for these feelings is always the antisocial nature of the self.

For such a socially oriented person, threat is accompanied by a feeling: it must be part of me that is at fault. The antisocial

parts of my personality are the sources of my danger. The society has clearly outlined the rules for success; I am therefore incompetent and "they" do not love me.

With such an orientation, two emotional effects evolve. The person, preoccupied as he is with his society, comes to rage against it. He hates its power and pressure, its moral and ethical foundations, its customs and conventions. He is angry with being imposed on and thwarted by this outside world, a world to which he is hypersensitive.

In addition, he recognizes parts of himself as antisocial; parts of him strive for satisfactions that the environment denies and controls. These parts of himself he recognizes as most vulnerable to social attack. These parts of himself that are socially inadequate and socially hated are a source of great fear.

He comes to fear parts of himself as weakening his ability to live within the limits of his group. These fearful things include his past and present needs, past and present thoughts and actions that do not fit into the stereotypes of what is socially right and proper. These feared aspects of himself are usually the animal aspects of his being. They are related to the more socially taboo parts of contemporary living: sex, aggression, elimination, and consumption.

On the other hand, for the self-oriented person, threat and insecurity lead to:

1.8.2 *Self-anger (rage against self) and society-anxiety (fear of others)*. Now things are reversed. In the conflict between social pressures and personal desires, the orientation is toward the self. Personal desires and wishes are acceptable, the environment is not. The self is right, the society is wrong.

This produces an intense fear of the environment. The outside world is dangerous and does not understand me. I am attempting to live in a manner that I believe to be fit; but the world around me does not care, nor does it accept me. As a result, I fear the wrath of social hostility. I wish to feel competent and I wish to feel loved, but the environment will not permit me to live in the way I should and would.

In conjunction with his fear of the environment is his rage against himself. The self-directed person in conflict is angry with himself because his self is proving to be a poor and ineffective guide. It brings a dangerous environment down on itself. The self-directed is also angry with himself for not being able to overcome social obstacles. He rages against himself for fearing his environment.

Each person is a configuration of these two rage-fear and fear-rage tendencies. However, the blend is not the result of hap-hazard accident. There is a predictable logic that governs the:

1.9 Integration of anxiety and anger. Fear and rage are learned. They are both fairly spontaneous reactions to frustration, but the direction of either reaction is governed by past experience.

The child who is taught that his own impulses are bad and improper is the same child who is taught that the social world is a good guide for action. Overcontrol of the individual is the outgrowth of his parents' preoccupation with the importance of social acceptance. As a result, a person overly educated in the importance of social living is usually overly educated to the dangerous and fearful nature of his own animal functioning, his own oral, anal, and sexual desires. Self-fear for such a child, oriented as he is toward society, must be accompanied at all times by some deep, often hidden, anger against his society.

Similarly a child who learns to fear his environment, through the aggression, rejection, or withdrawal of his parents or playmates, also learns to rage against himself. Somehow, somewhere, he must have done something to make the outside world so fearful. And so, parts of himself come to be hated for their destructive influences.

Fear is usually a far more disabling experience than is rage, and so we have to concern ourselves with it to a greater extent. Although fear, all by itself, is not necessarily harmful, there are limits beyond which fear results in extreme disorganization and panic. However, even before this point is reached, a person's reactions to fear are governed by his:

1.10 Tolerance for fear. A person's tolerance for fear largely determines what reactions will stem from his feelings of insecurity. In effect, his tolerance for fear is closely related to his tolerance for insecurity. The person who is capable of effectively accepting and reacting to a wide spectrum of discomforts and threats can be said to have a high tolerance for insecurity. Since insecurity will always result in some fear reaction, a similar tolerance for fear is apparent. A high tolerance for insecurity, accompanied by a high tolerance for both anxiety and anger, results in an ability to maintain effective action under frustration.

A reduced tolerance for anger leads to typical rage-reactions; for example, aggressive verbalizations, fighting, scapegoating, temper tantrums, and the like. An intolerance of anxiety demands some sort of protective action which will cause the fear to disappear. At this point any realistic adjustment and reduction of the insecurity may be impossible. If such is the case, the intolerance for fear may

cause any number of artificial and temporary solutions. When it is not possible to do anything realistic to relieve the basic frustration, the only way to remove the fear is through a variety of maladjustive and make-believe defenses.

In general the single most important factor in determining whether an individual will develop adjustive coping behaviors or maladjustive defenses is his tolerance for anxiety. A high tolerance makes it unnecessary to deal defensively with the fear symptom before actually curing the insecurity disease.

Anxiety and the tolerance for anxiety combine to produce some characteristic forms of social action. The specific direction of such action depends on just how high the tolerances are under each set of frustrating and threatening conditions. A high tolerance for fear almost always results in appreciably better adjustment and more effective behavior than does low tolerance. In general, very high tolerances for anxiety permit a person to engage in effective:

1.11.1 Coping reactions. So long as fear does not overwhelm a person, he can direct his efforts toward overthrowing his frustrations and barriers. Dangers can be attended to, and daily life becomes a series of adjustments and alterations of circumstances for the better. Plans can be made, methods attempted, goals evaluated, and gratifications enjoyed. Such coping behavior is the means to his satisfaction.

Since all action is taken in the face of obstacles and barriers, effective action must overcome this frustration and blockage. Since each frustration results in some small measure of insecurity, fear is always present. If little fears are perceived as big fears through the intolerance of fear itself, difficulties arise. However, if even big fears are tolerable, attention can then be directed toward the source of the problem. The fear does not demand attentions that should ordinarily be directed toward the enemy.

The various coping behaviors are the very foundation of a person's daily activity. For the mentally healthy and well-adjusted person, they are the actions we recognize as characteristic of his being. They are his ways of life. The various ways in which people effectively handle problems concerning themselves, their associates, the physical things around them, the ideas and concepts of their society, the authorities and values of their culture, are all coping behaviors.

We will consider these coping behaviors in some detail later. At this point it is important only to indicate their relation to a person's high tolerance for fear. As the tolerance for fear drops, fear becomes more of a concern and more of a focus for attention.

Less time and effort can be devoted to effective action; more preoccupation with danger results. As the tolerance for fear becomes lower, one reaches a point of:

1.11.2 Static inaction. Indecision and inactivity under frustration reflect a state of relatively low fear-tolerance. All the available ways of adjustment hold some possibility of danger, and so no action is taken at all. A person, preoccupied with the possibilities of failure and the accompanying pain and punishment, hesitates and cogitates excessively.

During the period of prolonged and unreconciled conflict, his physical system maintains a high level of tension. Bodily preparations for action are constantly being made, and the biochemical effects of such preparations are pronounced. In effect, the person is held in a state of prolonged alarm and anticipation accompanied by continuous frustration and dissatisfaction.

As Selye³ suggests, these prolonged periods of maintained alarm states cannot help but produce detrimental physiological effects. A variety of tissue disabilities can be traced to such prolonged indecisiveness; psychosomatic disorganizations of the sensory, muscular, cardiovascular, respiratory, and gastrointestinal systems are common.

As the tolerance for anxiety drops still lower, indecision is not enough. Fear itself now is so much of a problem that action must be taken to overcome the feeling of fear. Quite independent of the source of the fear, the fear itself must be controlled. As suggested by such writers as Fenichel,⁴ Grinker and Spiegel,⁵ and White,⁶ when the tolerance for fear is extremely low, it is possible for even a minor fear to completely disorganize the individual, producing a state of near-panic.

Under such conditions, when the tolerance for fear is very low and fear is felt to be great, there is nothing left but:

1.11.3 Defensive reactions. Now the person acts to gain a temporary feeling of freedom from fear. The fear of fear itself demands that an artificial state be established that will give some semblance of security, some pretense of safety, and thus some reduction in the potential to panic. Such is the function of the maladjustive and maladaptive defenses.

Defenses do not cope with a real danger, but rather they defend against the accompanying fears. If effective in their objective,

³ H. Selye, *Stress* (Montreal: Acta, 1950).

⁴ O. Fenichel, *The psychoanalytic theory of neurosis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1945).

⁵ R. R. Grinker and J. P. Spiegel, *Men under stress* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1945).

⁶ R. W. White, *The abnormal personality* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956).

defenses result in a *conscious* impression of well-being. They give a superficial impression that there is really no conflict at all. However, nothing has actually been done to reduce the realistic conflicts that still remain.

The continuation of the conflict makes it necessary to continue the defenses. Often the accompanying lack of real coping behavior results in intensifying the conflicts. Other people may be forced to punish the person even further for not taking necessary corrective actions. If then the conflict increases, more defense is needed. The final effect of such a maladjustive state of affairs is usually the gradual building of defense on defense until the person is crippled with these ineffective thought patterns.

It is the defensive reactions to anxiety that result in most of the so-called "neurotic" and "prepsychotic" behaviors. These defenses are the origins of prolonged, often lifetime, unhappiness and dissatisfaction. The defensive person usually is unaware of his difficulties and conflicts. He is so overloaded with conflict-concealing techniques that he has little or no insight and little or no opportunity to learn new ways of handling his old difficulties. Growth, adjustment, maturity, and gratification are prevented by his defenses against anxiety. For without fear as a signal that all is not well, nothing can be done to improve the state of affairs. By analogy, a person who spends all of his time and effort on narcotics to kill the pain of a disease will often die of the disease as it becomes progressively worse. He may die painlessly, but this is a small consolation.⁷

⁷ For a detailed sociopsychological and clinical discussion of the forces described in this chapter, see E. Bennett, *The search for emotional security* (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959).

CHAPTER 2

NEUROTIC AND PREPSYCHOTIC REACTIONS

A person's defensive reactions are designed to reduce the fear he associates with conflict. The conflict itself is not reconciled in this manner; only the fear is reduced temporarily.

In the broadest sense, personality conflict can be traced back to a basic disagreement between some personal (often animalistic) characteristic of the self and some social (often moral) aspect of society. When the conflict leads to a pattern of self-anxiety and society-anger, the greatest danger lies with one's self and not with society. Some characteristics of the self are major sources of danger. Some parts of the self are socially defective and thus to be feared. Under such conditions, defense is best effected by some change in feeling about one's self, some alteration of the *self* half of the fundamental self-society conflict.

When a person's tolerance for fear is low and he fears himself as the source of his conflict, neurotic patterns develop. These include a variety of defensive reactions, all of which have something in common. Reactions for which we shall restrict the term *neurotic* all work in the direction of:

2.1 *Defensive self-withdrawal.* When some part of one's self is considered dangerous and fearful, defense against fear is best obtained by withdrawing one's awareness and consciousness from that part of the self. This, of course, does nothing actually to reduce the conflict and danger. It merely throws up an artificial barrier to keep the fear-instigating portions of the personality smothered in unconsciousness. As the danger becomes greater, the need to withdraw consciousness from greater and greater portions of the self often becomes necessary. As the trend continues, this neurotic blanket of defense usually forces the person hopelessly out of contact with wide segments of his own personality. He especially loses awareness of his fundamental animalistic needs and drives.

The person who has withdrawn from much of himself usually can be recognized by his combination of heightened social awareness and reduced personal insight. He is notoriously incapable of

gaining any real satisfaction for his most intimate desires. Usually he is not even aware of the presence of such desires. The neurotic is a very sad person: unhappy, dissatisfied, and discontent. Life is one continuous striving for both social success and self-concealment.

There are two general ways of withdrawing one's consciousness from fearful parts of one's self. The first of these, as outlined in Figure 2-1, is through the:

2·2·1 Limitation of self-awareness. When the conflict is light, one's awareness need be limited only slightly. As the conflict increases, more and more of the personality must be concealed and in a more thorough manner.

Only when there is no defensive need can the individual experience *relatively full self-awareness (2·2·1·A)*. He can think about and consciously evaluate those facets of his personality that are in conflict with his society. He can attempt to work out compromise solutions within the limits imposed by reality in order that his needs may be satisfied. As a result, he has some reasonable chance of satisfaction.

As a person's tendency toward the defensive limitation of his own self-awareness develops, the first step is a *de-emphasis of self-awareness (2·2·1·B)*. He loses the ability to see his own conflict-instigating characteristics in full perspective. He tends to ignore the asocial needs and asocial means of action that get him into trouble. As a result, these needs often go begging and his actions continue to trigger conflict.

Such a de-emphasis is a common outgrowth of social training. A child is quickly taught that parts of himself are improper and should best be ignored. Antisocial elimination, eating, and sexual desires and actions are notoriously de-emphasized in our cultural training. The child quickly learns that his basic animal needs are best satisfied discreetly, if at all.

As the need for defensive self-concealment increases, the next step is the *repression of self-awareness (2·2·1·C)*. Repression completely inhibits a person's conscious knowledge of one or more parts of his personality. Such repressed material is no longer available in any form for conscious evaluation or study. Fundamentally, repression is of two types. First, a person represses memories. He forgets, and can no longer remember fearful actions and situations, the fearful people and desires of his past, especially his childhood. Second, he represses present needs and desires of an asocial or antisocial nature. Usually these are the more primitive animal needs relating to aggression, sexuality, nonconformity, and childhood frustrations.

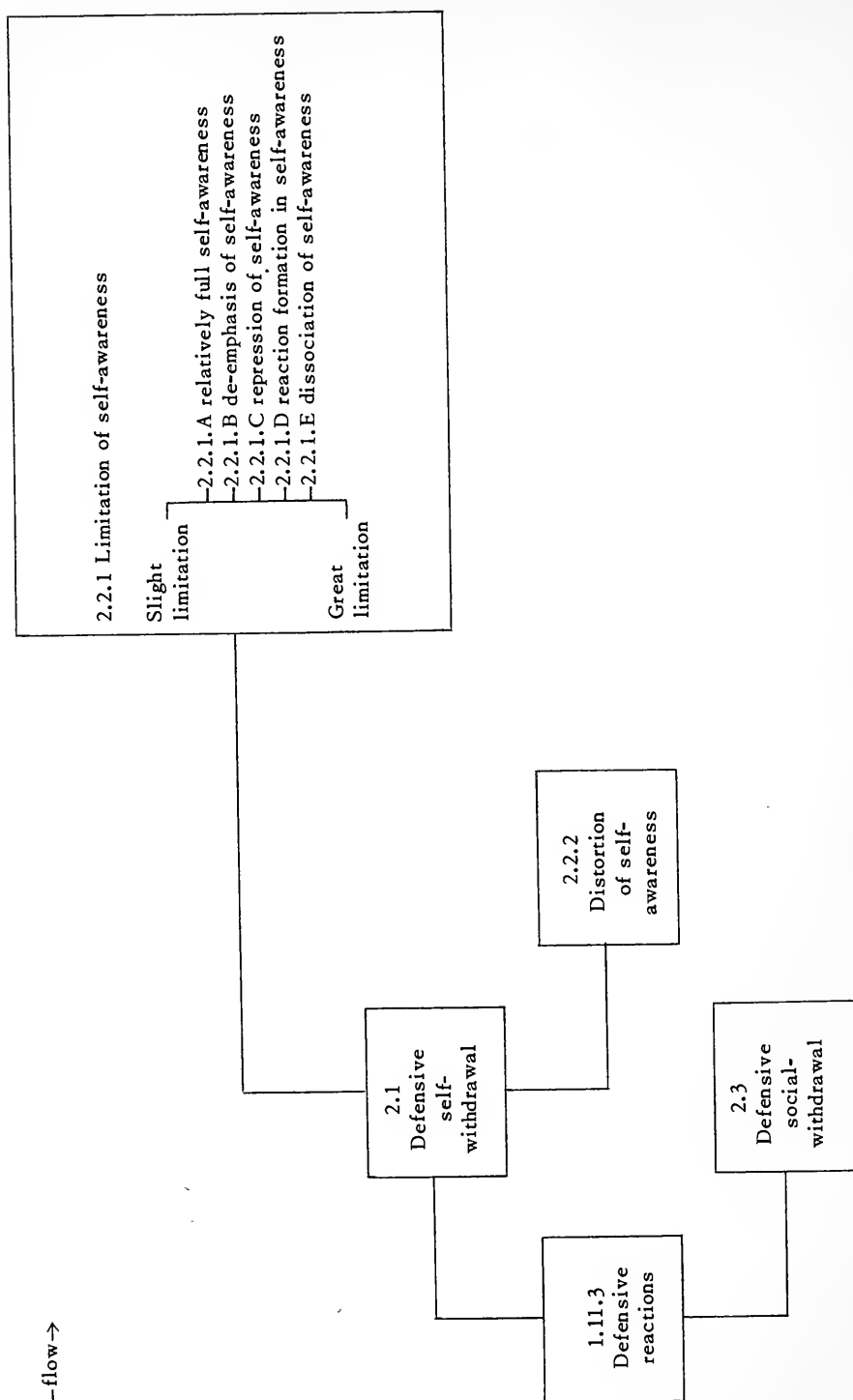


Fig. 2-1. Trends in the limitation of self-awareness.

A repressed person knows little of the evil within himself, only the good. He remembers little of the unpleasantness of his past, but sees life through rose-colored glasses. Nevertheless, the unattractive desires and memories still exist, real and active, even if unconscious. The needs, because they have little opportunity for satisfaction, are apt to be strong, powerful, and demanding.

As conflict increases still further, the need for self-control and self-constriction also increases. A further step in the limitation process comes with *reaction formation in self-awareness* (2·2·1·D). Now a person not only denies the existence of his antisocial needs, but he also perceives himself as having diametrically opposing needs. Denying the "black," he sees himself as "white."

Perhaps repressing his own strong sexual desires, a person strives for celibacy. Denying strong hostility urges, he becomes a pacifist. Denying strong dependency needs, he fights for leadership. Denying strong nonconformity wishes, he is quick to adopt the popular style of dress and thought. Denying intense urges to soil, dirty, and corrupt others, he may actively join a citizen's anti-vice committee.

As greater and greater controls are needed, greater limitations are placed on consciousness. The most extreme limitations occur under the greatest threat of fear. This stage of defense appears as a *dissociation of self-awareness* (2·2·1·E). This dissociation may take a variety of forms. In the rare extreme, two or more fairly total personalities may be built up. One being relatively social, acceptable, and conforming, this one is more or less permanently conscious. It is the personality that continues to inhibit the less social and more unattractive parts of the self. Gradually enough material is repressed to form a large and conflicting unconscious personality. This second personality may then break into consciousness full-blown, to temporarily govern and regulate the person's behavior. As Prince¹ suggested, this Jekyll and Hyde split occurs in such a manner that the antisocial half will be aware of the social half, but the social half will not be aware of (having repressed) the antisocial half.

Under less extreme conditions, dissociation may result in a protective amnesia. There is then a period of time during which the individual loses consciousness of his name, address, and other aspects of his life of conflict. The amnesia serves as a temporary haven of rest from the fears of the pre-amnesia days of conflict. Under other conditions dissociation may result in a fugue, a period

¹ M. Prince, *Clinical and experimental studies in personality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art, 1929).

of such complete repression that an entire unit of time, sometimes weeks, is completely forgotten.

From a person's first simple de-emphasis of his self-awareness to the extreme split of his dissociation, these limitations of self-awareness serve as one means for him to hide and conceal fear. There are other ways of accomplishing much the same thing, as outlined in Figure 2-2. These may be summarized as the:

2·2·2· *Distortion of self-awareness.* There are a host of ways to distort a realistic picture of one's self. The simplest of these can serve as a minor defense against minor fears and is *rationalization* (2·2·2·A). Rationalization is the use of socially acceptable conscious thoughts to conceal socially unacceptable unconscious ones. Usually it includes a socially proper explanation for taking or intending to take an action that will satisfy an asocial or primitive desire. Such rationalizations are in effect little more than intellectual excuses that can give a person the false sense of social propriety so necessary to reduce his anxiety.

A hostile and rejecting parent may rationalize the cruel treatment of a child by believing "spare the rod and spoil the child." A politician may conceal his desire for dominance and power by believing that he is a reformer trying to clear a city of dishonest politicians. A jealous and ambitious woman may spread malicious gossip throughout a neighborhood believing that she is merely doing her duty to tell the truth. In these ways, actions stemming from fear-instigating asocial motives can be taken with a minimum of fear, since artificial social explanations have been found.

Although the term *rationalization* is usually reserved for a defense that is recognized by these artificial explanations for anti-socially motivated behaviors, there is a similar defense that works with memory. One can distort memories that are associated with fear, thus remembering altered renditions that are more socially proper. Such confabulations and distorted memories work to the same end as rationalizations, and they are roughly the same form of defense.

As the danger rises, rationalizations are not adequate. To simply distort one's thinking may not control enough fear. Under this condition one may have to remove the source of the danger through *displacement* (2·2·2·B)—more specifically, *projection* or *introjection*.

Projection, the perception of one's own antisocial tendencies in others, requires a great deal of self-distortion. Not only is it necessary to conceal one's own desires, but it is also necessary to perceive

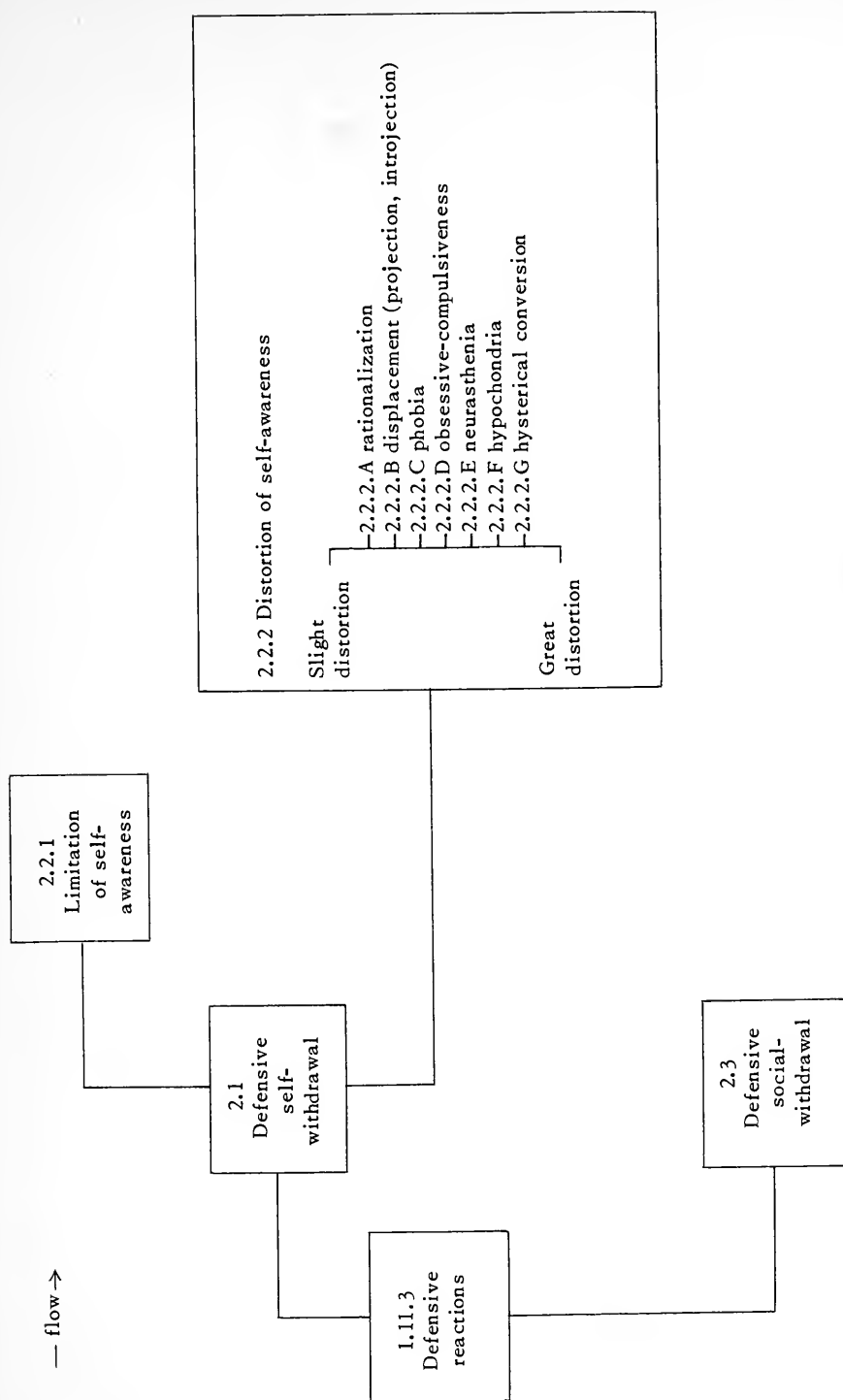


Fig. 2-2. Trends in the distortion of self-awareness.

enough side characteristics in the other person to keep the projection from seeming positively ridiculous. For the neurotic, projection must be logical and realistic. It must comply with social standards. If one is to distort one's own feeling of greed, one does not project greed onto the local minister or teacher. Rather, the projection must be developed along more realistic lines, and some frame of reference must be developed so that the local merchant or building contractor is seen as greedy. It is ineffectual to project one's own sexual deviations by perceiving sexual deviation in a leading civic citizen. Rather, one can more successfully attack the poor people, the Negroes, or the college boys on these grounds.

Introjection, the perception of other people's social graces and advantages as within one's self, also requires some sensible planning and preparation. The child who wishes to introject a feeling of heroism from the television cowboy can do so more easily with an appropriate kerchief around his neck and cap-gun at his side. Similarly, the girl who would feel in herself the beauty of a movie star is more effective in this pretense if she can afford reasonably fashionable clothing. Knowing that defensive displacements of this type need props, many advertisers encourage the purchase of things to aid in the introjection of much-desired advantages. In this manner one buys a Cadillac to aid the introjection of prestige and social acceptance.

Both displacement techniques of projection and introjection distort the true self-picture in the direction of social acceptability. In this way basic self-fear and tension are reduced. Nevertheless, the fundamental feelings have not been changed and the basic conflicts have not been reconciled.

When fear and the need for self-withdrawal are so great that distortions of thinking and displacements of objects are not enough, the very fear itself can be distorted. Such is the operation of the *phobia* (2·2·2·C). Since fear is intolerable, any defense that will reduce the frequency of occurrence of the fear is effective. In phobic reactions a person develops an irrational and only semilogical fear of some fairly specific external thing. Rather than fear himself, he focuses his fear on something external that may be either avoided or controlled, thus controlling the fear.

Often a phobia is unconsciously selected to indirectly give additional advantages. It may not only focus fear, but it may also decrease personal responsibility and difficulty. For example, a fear of the dark may serve a child well, since it may encourage his parents to give him more affection and attention at bedtime. Many such phobic fears are so used to gain control over the environment.

As anxiety increases, the number of phobic objects usually increases, and the phobias often become so numerous as to handicap the person's social activity. He may reach the point where he cannot go out of his house, turn off the lights, listen to the radio, or wash his hands. Although they temporarily alleviate his self-associated fears, the phobias now become additional burdens. The fear associated with many feelings of inadequacy, feelings of antisocial tendencies and inner-world threats, cannot be completely distorted. Under many conditions the conflict between the self and the society cannot be completely hidden. The inadequate nature of the self, and the dangerously punishing nature of the environment, are partially sensed. Defended as he may be, the person still feels: I am wicked, the world is righteous, and we are in combat.

Under these conditions one possible defense is to try to comply, conform, and accept the social standards and demands. However, since the real conflict is so great that it cannot be altered, the compliance and conformity must be at some symbolic, superficial, and distorted level. There can only be some unconscious pretense at reconciliation. This symbolic effort to conform to the demands of the environment is at the root of *obsessive-compulsiveness* (2·2·2·D).

Obsessions permit withdrawal from the self in one of three ways. First, the simplest obsessions consciously repeat some warning that the self is capable of antisocial action and that the environment is capable of great punishment. Such obsessions are defensive in that the individual believes that being aware of his potential to do harm, he will not give in to his irrational desires. However, the obsessive thought is but a minor, distorted, and superficial substitute for his more intensely repressed desire. The person obsessed with the feeling that he may kill a friend, parent, or child does not consciously feel "I want to kill," but merely "I am afraid I might kill without wanting to." As such he defends against the dangerous "I want to" that is too fearful to be tolerated.

The second type of obsession is a symbolic counteraction for a hidden desire. The person lives with opposite ideas to those he experiences unconsciously. Feeling dirty, the individual is obsessed with the need for cleanliness. Feeling disorganized, he is obsessed with the need for orderliness. Feeling the need for self-indulgence and dependency, the individual is consciously obsessed with the need to be independent.

The third form of obsession is concerned with the punishing nature of the environment. The person is preoccupied with the feeling that people are out to get him, hurt him, arrest him, jail him,

kill him. He is not aware of his own antisocial unconscious desires—the desires that make him feel such punishment is necessary.

Compulsions are merely the objective and active outgrowth of obsessive thoughts. A person performs some ritual or patterned action over and over again in line with the thoughts that plague him. Without the action pattern, he feels a swelling of intense and irrational fear. Compulsions serve to control this fear by two slightly different mechanisms. First, many compulsions take the form of a symbolic undoing. They are little conscious rituals which in their distorted way attempt to counteract the guilty or shameful desires of the hidden self. Compulsive cleanliness procedures, compulsive elimination routines or eating habits all work in this direction. Second, compulsions serve as symbolic defenses against the punishing environment. Compulsively attending to locking doors and windows, compulsively checking for leaking gas in the kitchen, compulsively counting and hiding money, compulsively avoiding contact with automobiles, trains, or streetcars, all work to protect the self, but always in a distorted and displaced manner.

Compulsive behavior is little more than a defensive extension of a person's normal social activities. The person moves from his natural overconformity to this hyperconformity until one or more of his social patterns is so stressed that it becomes an uncontrollable compulsion. In each case the compulsion points up his overattention to social forces and his withdrawal from his own conflicting needs.

For many conflict situations, even such a ritualistic conformity to the environment is not enough. Little short of withdrawal from the entire struggle is acceptable. But, because the individual is hypersensitized to his environment, his withdrawal must be of a socially acceptable nature.

In his unconscious search for a way out, the person may strike upon one of the few socially acceptable excuses for reducing one's load in life. That is, one is just too tired to carry on further. When this socially acceptable device is used as a defense, he starts to develop *neurasthenia* (2·2·2·E).

Now the person does not seem to have the strength to live a normal social life. He feels tired most of the time. He must stop work, especially emotionally stressful work, sooner than other people. He must reduce his demands on himself, and he dearly hopes that others will do the same. In fact, there is his deep feeling: I am so weak and helpless, people will have to take care of me rather than punish me.

Fatigue is an effective defense for a variety of reasons. Most people accept fatigue as uncontrollable; only occasionally is it so

grossly misused that it is labeled *laziness*. At the same time, fatigue is a perfectly acceptable excuse for reducing one's range of social action and one's degree of social participation. It is often associated with sickness, and as such calls forth the comfort and care that is reserved in almost all cultures for the children, the aged, and the infirm. Feeling constantly tired, a neurasthenic can give up most of himself, most of his desires, most of his striving for personal gratification. He can withdraw to his bed or his den, protected against the conflicts that surround him.

However, fatigue may not be extreme enough to bring the needed social protection and acceptance. In *hypochondria* (2·2·2·F), nothing short of physical sickness can result in the social protection and attention needed as a sign that there is nothing to fear. Illness itself is not enough. It must be communicated, discussed, played upon. It must be used as a social weapon to gain affection, sympathy, and comfort. The illness must not go away; or if it does, a new one must develop to take its place. The person must consciously feel sick, and others must know about it, so that his fears will be reduced. People do not attack sick people; it is cowardly.

The hypochondriac cannot accept the idea of being healthy. Pains in the head, the chest, the stomach, the legs are constant reminders that one really cannot be expected to be as competent as healthy people. But one deserves love nevertheless.

Hypochondriac illness is usually diffuse and difficult to diagnose. This is an advantage to the defensive person in that it permits his illness to be used for a wide variety of purposes. Always unconsciously, his pains shift to meet the occasion. If a physician decides that they are not the result of disease, either the pains shift to a new area or the patient shifts to a new physician. There is always the same distortion of the self-concept. The patient is sick, defenseless, and in need of care. He has no conscious knowledge that he is intensely afraid, ashamed, and guilty, that he feels incompetent and inadequate, that he feels he is in a hostile, unloving, threatening environment.

Hypochondriac defenses give an artificial feeling of being loved more than they give an artificial feeling of competence and self-worth. This is, therefore, an unlikely defense for the highly self-deterministic. It is used by the society-deterministic and society-oriented. It is a socially acceptable way of obtaining the environmental friendliness so needed for security. It is a popular defense of children, women, the aged, and other dependent people.

The most extreme distortion of the self is reserved for the most extreme conflicts. Neurasthenic fatigue is good self-protection,

hypochondriac illness is better, but a dramatic disability is even more so. In a *hysterical conversion* (2·2·2·G), a person unconsciously seeks his defense in a disabling physical infirmity. Sudden blindness, deafness, loss of taste or smell, paralysis of one or more limbs, loss of speech, loss of consciousness, or pseudoepileptic attacks may result.

In developing this physical disability, two advantages are gained. First, the disability directly helps to reconcile some of the conflict. Blindness may make it impossible to see a hated parent. Paralysis may make it impossible for a soldier to perform on the battlefield. Loss of speech may prevent desired outbursts of antisocial verbalizations.

In addition, there is a more general advantage. The disability is usually so crippling that the environment must comfort the patient. The stress of social living is appreciably eased. Of course, this is small compensation for the handicapped and restricted existence that must accompany something like blindness. Nevertheless, the person's intolerance for his fears is so great that such a defense is necessary, and such crippling is accepted as the price for warding off his feelings of overwhelming danger and fear. Consciously, of course, the hysterical convert strives desperately to overcome and improve his disability. Unconsciously, it is quite the other way around. The disability serves a vital purpose, and recovery without psychotherapy is unlikely.

Although it is difficult to maintain social competence in the face of a hysterical physical disability, competence-oriented people often resort to such defense. Differing from the hypochondriac, the hysteric maintains a veneer of striving to get well. He can play the martyr and can struggle to develop new skills to compensate for his physical loss. For example, he can gain approval of and reward for how skillfully he gets around even with the loss of his sight. Nevertheless, the blind man is just not expected to attain as high a level of competent performance within the culture, and thus relatively little competence in a hysterical can result in much social love and acceptance, much emotional security and satisfaction.

As we have tried to show, the self-withdrawal defenses are remarkably logical and orderly procedures. They are all unconsciously designed to eliminate conscious awareness of fear and fear-producing self characteristics. They are all attempts at social adjustment—although maladjustive. Defensive withdrawal from the self is little more than an extreme manifestation of what is generally common within any society. To the extent to which a child is taught to fear himself, he will be angry with his environment;

and he will gradually draw away from himself, driving more and more of his personality into his distorted unconsciousness. All people show all of these defensive patterns to some extent. In effect it is only important to note which people are starting to hopelessly burden themselves with their defenses. It is important to know which defenses are being used to excess and, if possible, to learn why.

These, then, are the neurotic defenses that always accompany a person's fear of himself and anger with his environment when paired with a low tolerance for fear itself. On the other hand, these are not acceptable defenses when the picture is turned around and the person is angry with himself and fears his environment. Under this new set of circumstances, low tolerance for fear produces what we come to recognize as the prepsychotic defenses.

As we have noted, when a person's conflict reaches a high point, his anxiety becomes great. When his tolerance for anxiety is low, his need for defense becomes great. Now, however, when he feels that the environment is blindly and irrationally rejective, dangerous, and hostile, the environment must be feared. He believes that the self is in grave danger of destruction by the outside world. The environment proves frightening and threatening; the self is cowardly, fearful, and overwhelmed by the dangers.

As a result, the typical society-anxiety and self-anger pattern of response develops. The dangers of the outside world demand some form of defense to reduce the feeling of anxiety. The effect is:

2.3 Defensive social-withdrawal. In order to give a superficial impression of freedom from insecurity and anxiety, the person clouds his perception of the dangerous environment. He uses a variety of means to develop an anxiety-free life for himself, a life free of the most unattractive parts of the outside world.

This is by no means effective coping behavior, since he does nothing to actually reconcile the conflict and to reduce the social punishment. He merely establishes roadblocks to keep from becoming consciously aware of the dangers around him. Unconsciously the danger is still quite evident. Certainly few, if any, major gratifications are being gained. At best there is a conscious freedom from fear.

One method of social withdrawal is, as shown in Figure 2-3, the:

2.4.1 Limitation of social-awareness. The simplest limitations can be seen in many common acts of daily life. There is a natural tendency for people to seek environments that are friendly and cooperative, avoiding others that are hostile and dangerous and thus limiting their social awareness.

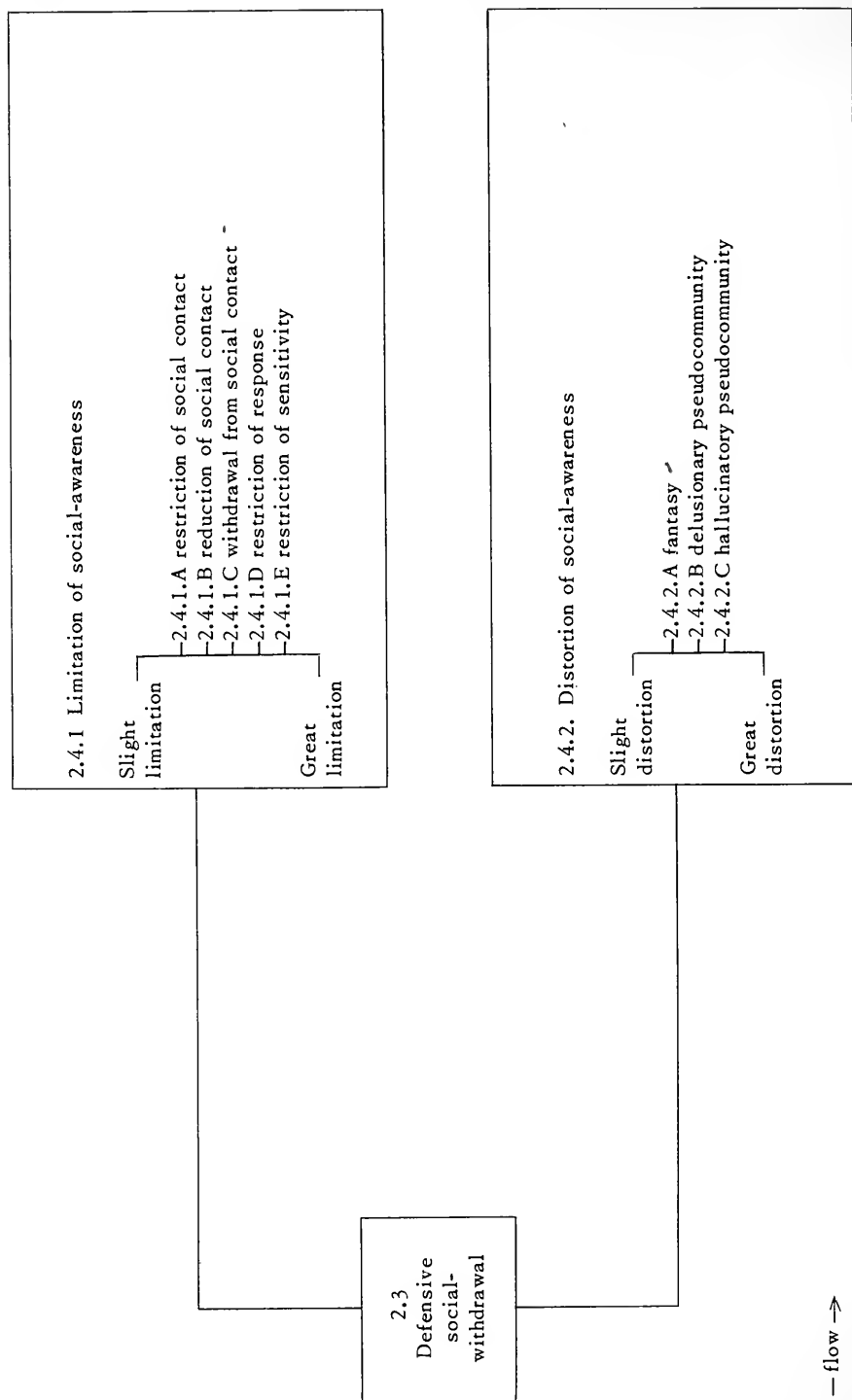


Fig. 2-3. Trends in defensive social-withdrawal.

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As this tendency increases, when one is motivated by a fear of social punishment, a noticeable *restriction of social contact* (2·4·1·A) takes place. A person senses the types of people and situations that trigger off his conflicts, and he deliberately avoids these. He draws around him social groups with similar frames of reference, moral standards, status, values, and background. He considers outsiders dangerous, and either avoids them or attacks them with the aid of his friends.

Such is the first and most primary of the prepsychotic tendencies. In this, as in all other withdrawals, the basic groundwork is laid for increased conflict. Removing himself from those he considers foreign and hostile to himself, he loses his ability to counteract and cope with these dangerous groups. He loses his ability to determine if their hostility is real or fanciful, dangerous or harmless. Without adequate information, he must assume the worst, since only then can he take any necessary precautions. So, with only restricted contact and without really knowing, he assumes that the outside world is really hostile, dangerous, and fear-instigating. He confirms his own hypotheses without good evidence.

As his fear of the environment increases, and his restriction of contact with the environment continues, his conflict is likely to increase. If it does, he then tends toward a more extreme *reduction of social contact* (2·4·1·B). This is a more drastic action, because now social contacts are fewer in number. The individual spends more time by himself, indulging in solitary activities. He even cuts down on his number of close friends, perhaps even denying himself any real intimates at all.

If this is not enough, a more drastic defense is adopted. He starts deliberate *withdrawal from social contact* (2·4·1·C). He turns down invitations. He moves into more solitary quarters. He refuses to engage in group activities. He avoids crowds. He does not speak to strangers and may not even talk to associates any more than can be helped. At this point he starts to take on some characteristics that call for comment. He is starting to "act a little strange." People say he is "unfriendly" and react to him in kind. They may say that he is "snooty, too good for them, antisocial." It is a fine line that drives an individual from seeming "shy" to seeming "stuck-up."

At this point a vicious cycle often begins. The punishment of increased conflict is great enough so that it is impossible for him to give up his defenses and return to gregarious living. Only greater defense can curtail his fear. Often people at this stage of defense are actually classified as prepsychotics or simple schizophrenics.

They have reached the stage where social isolation has led to obviously ineffectual and inappropriate social actions. The person may have prolonged periods of deliberate isolation and inactivity. He may show little concern about social propriety or responsibility.

Sometimes the diagnosis of simple schizophrenia is not made until the next step in defense has developed. At this point the individual imposes a *restriction of response* (2·4·1·D). It is not really possible to avoid all of the outside world. People are always coming into your room, talking to you, making demands on you, arguing with your solitude and disinterest. One cannot physically flee all other human beings. But one can refuse to respond to their stimulations.

There are but two ways of accomplishing this. First, one can ignore the stimulation of others. One goes on about one's own business, refusing to comply with requests or comments. In its simplest form this refusal to respond is a "negativistic stage" in the development of many children confronted with hostile parents. At an older age it may be conceived of as "surliness." The individual is seen as an "individualist." Social forces do not seem to produce their expected results. Conformity is not likely.

In its extreme, such passive restriction of response results in bizarre and psychotic behavior. A patient moves about a mental institution, indifferent to the attendants or patients. If he does respond, it is in an inappropriate and disjointed manner. In its most advanced stage, such restriction of response is seen in the "waxy-flexible catatonic schizophrenic." The patient sits by himself, immobile until moved by someone else. Then he permits others to move him much like a lump of putty. He stays in any position they put him, arms or legs extended, head tilted. Such is the end point of his passive refusal to comply with a hostile and fear-instigating environment. Through such passivity he can do no wrong and so may not be hurt.

The second method of restricting response is more active. It is a deliberate effort at counteraction. The person does not just ignore stimulation, he deliberately refuses to respond. His withdrawal is important, and any attempt to interrupt it is met with resistance. Such resistance may be seen in a hospitalized patient's rage and homicidal aggression. In the end it may develop into the rigid stupor of the catatonic, who assumes some tense position and resists any attempt to move him. His reaction to stimulation is to resist with active opposition.

The final stage in limiting social awareness is the most extreme. The person develops a *restriction of sensitivity* (2·4·1·E). It is

impossible to remove one's self from all human company, and those that remain make requests that demand reactions. So, as a last desperate measure, one desensitizes oneself. He only listens to and sees the things and people he wants to. Others are simply ignored. They are blocked out of his conscious life.

The first stages of such restricted sensitivity are best noted in the appearance of preoccupation of a prepsychotic. He listens without seeming to hear. His attention wanders from the social scene. He has difficulty in concentrating. As he goes one step further, he turns the entire environment on and off like a hearing aid. He becomes impossible to communicate with at times. He does not see or hear what is going on around him. He has broken with reality; he is out of contact.

Such almost complete disengagement can be seen in the so-called hebephrenic schizophrenics whose ridiculous behavior and conversation has little if any relation to the environment. They mouth a running commentary on what is going on inside the self; it is often conversation with inner-world associates, and it just happens to spill into the outer world where real people can hear it. Little goes through to the inside from the outside.

A second general method of social withdrawal is:

2.4.2 Distortion of social awareness. The most common social distortion is misinterpretation. Social situations are falsely evaluated. Sometimes there is an effort to see friendliness and pleasantness where they do not exist, in order to repress an actual feeling of social hostility.

More often the reaction is reversed and the evaluation is pessimistic. Difficulties are seen in many situations where there is actually no danger. The person has a feeling that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. Danger sensed in advance can be thwarted. It is better to be safe than sorry.

Usually social situations are so clear that misinterpretation is not enough. More advanced distortion comes with an increased use of *fantasy* (2.4.2.A). Although many fantasies are healthy and adjustive, these stem from defense.

The adjustive fantasies are means of vicarious trial and error. In his mind a person runs through what he will do or say at some future time, practicing ways of acting, plans and preparations. Using such fantasy, he skips many of the difficulties in social living, having already prepared himself for many eventualities. Most of the great social and scientific achievements have been accomplished through a wealth of such preliminary fantasy-planning inside the head of the innovator. The adjustive fantasies conceive in terms

of real situations. A realistic person is engaging in realistic future actions with a realistic environment. The fantasy considers the realistic range of possibilities and evaluates the best road to success.

The defensive fantasies differ from this in key respects. They show one or more of the following distortions. First, the individual may fantasize that he is not what he is in reality. He is as strong as a giant. He is as handsome as a movie star. He is as brave as a war hero or comic-book character. He can fly. He can do magic. Second, he fantasizes that his environment is different. He lives in an expensive home. He has the latest model car. Beautiful women surround him. Opponents tremble at his presence. He is always with people who like him. Third, his needs are being satisfied in ways completely impossible in real life. Extreme forms of sadism or masochism may accompany sexual fantasies. Extreme forms of injury may accompany hostility fantasies.

As fantasy develops more rich and distorted pathways, there gradually evolves a *delusionary pseudocommunity* (2·4·2·B). Some fantasy experiences and people become commonplace. Ideas occur so frequently and under conditions of such imaginary gratification that they become permanent parts of his world. He starts to live with them. Just as a normal child often has imaginary friends in times of stress and frustration, so the psychotic lives with such make-believe associates.

In his delusionary pseudocommunity the person is usually of considerable importance. From the fullness of his importance grows his belief that he is God, Christ, Nero, Caesar, Napoleon, or the president of the largest bank in the world.

Often in the pseudocommunity there are dangerous figures. People are persecuting, accusing, attacking. They are working toward the person's destruction. At first, the defensive purpose of such delusionary persecutors may not be clear; they appear to be punishing figures of the person's own choosing. However, a detailed inspection of the fantasy suggests that these persecutory people are actually rewarding. They are a form of self-indulgence and gratification. They supply a reason for being suspicious and cautious. They give a reason for withdrawal and self-protection. They are the backbone on which the entire fabric of felt hostility can be built. As such, the delusions of persecution are scapegoats. They are displaced dangers, smaller and less dangerous in true magnitude than the danger of the outside that he denies by this defense.

Those fantasy enemies also give the person an opportunity to vent his own feelings of self-hostility. Fantasy people may be try-

ing to kill him, but they do not succeed. They may be sticking pins into him, and he may cry out in real pain; but the pins and the pain are a means of atonement, a means of making peace with his world.

It is only a small step from a delusionary pseudocommunity to a *hallucinatory pseudocommunity* (2·4·2·C). Believing in a make-believe world, he comes to experience it: to see, touch, hear, smell, and taste it. The hallucinations may run from seeing the fine clothes one has, suitable to one's exalted station in life, to tasting the poison one's enemies are placing in the soup.

This, then, is the range of defensive feelings that a person can fall back on once he starts to fear, either himself or others, and cannot tolerate his fears. In addition to the many strange activities that grow directly out of this defensive subjective world, there are three characteristics that are less direct products of his defensive thinking. These are not methods of defense but are the result of having one's total subjective world gradually overwhelmed by maladjustment. They are depressions, manias, and regressive behavior.

All three can be observed in extreme and bizarre forms when we study the behavior of psychotics. But they are equally prevalent outgrowths of neurotic defense. The neurotic is, of course, more socially sensitive; and he therefore shows his depression, mania, or regression in a socially acceptable way. His is not a bizarre demonstration, and it may therefore go less noticed; but it exists nevertheless. It is defense itself, whether based on self or society fear, that produces these three symptoms.

The psychotic withdrawals tend to result in more pronounced and deep depressions. Extreme depression can only occur when a person conceives of himself as hopelessly insecure, hopelessly incompetent, hopelessly unloved, and never to gain any real gratification. Such extreme de-evaluations, such hopeless feelings, can only occur through social withdrawal. As one withdraws from the environment, one loses the ability to know exactly how dangerous it is. Therefore, one can conceive of the possibility of overwhelming danger. Similarly, one loses any idea of how the environment feels about the competence of the self. One loses one's social frame of reference. Therefore, one can conceive of himself as completely and devastatingly inadequate and worthless in the world's eyes.

On the other hand, the depressed neurotic sticks close to his environment and is only unhappy about his lack of pleasure and satisfaction. He cannot possibly see himself as absolutely insecure, inadequate, or unloved. He is tied to reality, and reality almost never places a person in such a low position.

Much the same can be said of manic as of depressive behavior.

The neurotic is hardly ever happy, and his manic periods are short-lived. The psychotic sometimes appears overwhelmingly happy and can maintain this artificial joy for prolonged periods. Such temporary conscious happiness calls for some full-blown distortions of the real world. One must believe in the fanciful possibility of personal grandeur, overpowering success, universal love, and immortality to enjoy overwhelming manic happiness; and this takes a psychotic frame of reference. For the neurotic, opportunities for pleasure are rare and may be obtained only occasionally, perhaps through the use of alcohol or drugs.

Both neurotic and psychotic defense tend to encourage childishness. Defensive people either stay with, or return to, earlier modes of adjustment as they find their adult ways producing less and less reward.

The psychotic defenses tend to produce more extreme regressions than do the neurotic modes. Social withdrawal makes it easier to regress. As a person pulls back into deeper contact with himself and loses more contact with his outside world, he can more easily recall his childhood ways of acting and he can more readily forget that they are really no longer acceptable in his present environment. He can return to childhood without worrying about his producing social punishment and ridicule. Because he has lost contact with his society to a large extent, he can no longer draw this rational type of conclusion.

As previously suggested, withdrawal from one's self and withdrawal from other people are poor substitutes for effective action. They start as temporary mechanisms for reducing anxiety, but they usually become permanent disabilities. This tendency for defenses to destroy the person who is using them is perhaps the most vicious part of the maladjustment picture.

The neurotic cycle. In the process of reducing anxiety, withdrawal from one's self results in a considerable loss of insight into one's self, especially into those desires most in need of gratification. This loss of insight results in an inability to satisfy basic needs, since the needs are either unknown or distorted. Since the needs continue to be frustrated, the environment appears more the frustrator and the self more in need of defense. Any attempt at symbolic gratification, twisted and warped as it is by the defenses, is often more punishing than rewarding. The net effect is a heightening of conflict caused by the prolonged absence of gratification.

Under other conditions, conflict is increased simply because the environment increases its punishments to force the person to change a behavior pattern that was developed as a defense. Since the

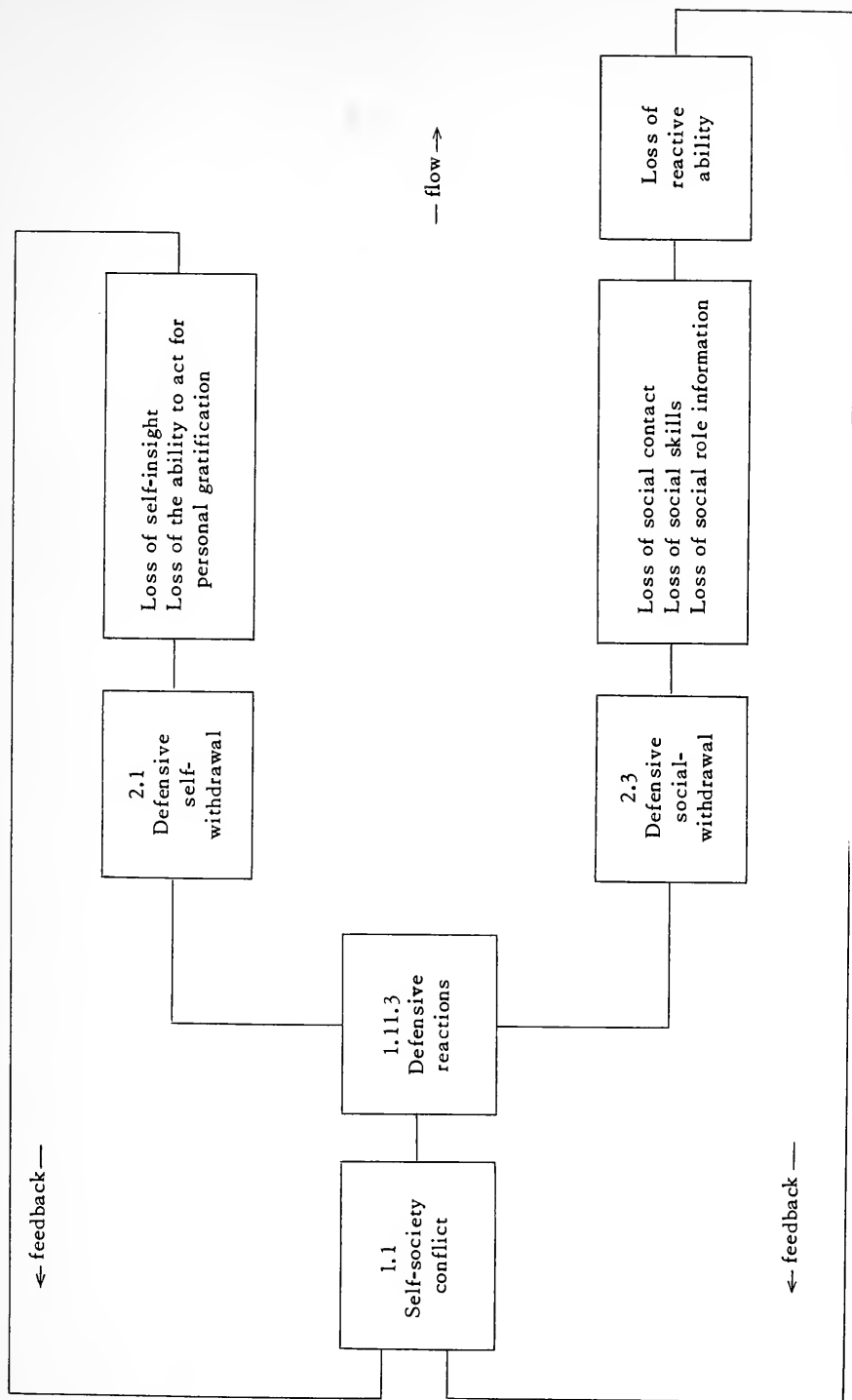


Fig. 2-4. Trends in the cycle of defensive conflict.

behavior is defensive, it cannot be given up easily. As a result, the environment increases its pressure, the conflict increases, and the need for defense increases. Rather than reduce the defensive pattern, the opposite usually results.

Another source of conflict comes with the self-punishment of the neurotic. Seeing himself as bad, guilty, and ashamed, he anticipates punishment. He may then resort to self-inflicted punishment in order to atone. Such self-punishment is used to show the powerful outside world that he is really sorry and apologetic. This common reaction of childhood is carried into adulthood by neurotics; it is a slapping of one's own wrist. However, in adult life it may appear as the unconsciously motivated automobile accident, the deliberate loss of a job, the deliberate fighting with friendly and helpful people, the deliberate self-deprecation and self-ridicule in public.

The increased conflict then leads to increased feelings of inadequacy, environmental hostility, and insecurity, to increased anxiety, to increased defense, to the increased loss of personal insight, to the increased inability to gratify needs, to increased conflict.

The functional prepsychotic cycle. As anxiety demands greater withdrawal from the environment, the person loses more and more of the advantages of social contact. He loses information about what are the socially acceptable ways of living. He loses information about what the society expects in the way of performances to gain reward. He loses insight into the social roles available to him for establishing a gratifying place in the community.

In addition, he loses his ability to act appropriately. He gradually loses even the most elementary social skills. In a minor case, he may lose only his ability to maintain a normal social conversation. In the extreme, he may lose his ability to meet a primary social demand; he may no longer be able to retain his urine or feces.

Without adequate information about the environment, and without the appropriate social skills, it is almost impossible for him to gain any real satisfaction for his desires. The conflicts that result from his social withdrawal are twofold. First, he fails to comply with social demands, because he has lost contact with the demands and he has lost his reactive skills. The environment then punishes his infringements, often severely. Although a mental hospital is the place for psychotics to recover their adjustive ability, and the physicians there are concerned with the welfare of their patients, the society that commits the person does so because of his failure to meet some major social demands. It is fundamentally a form of social punishment. Being placed in a mental hospital is an extreme,

but some lesser degree of social rejection and ostracism results from any inability to react appropriately.

The second source of conflict for the socially withdrawn lies in his inability to gain cooperation from others for the satisfaction of his needs. Although he may be aware of his needs, complex society makes it almost impossible for him to gain gratification without cooperation. Without an environment to help, short of the hermit's life, frustration is inevitable. The person who has withdrawn from others may not have many enemies; but, at the same time, he cannot have many friends. Again increased conflict leads to increased feelings of inadequacy, environment hostility, and insecurity, to increased anxiety, to increased defense, to the increased loss of social contact and insight, to the increased inability to cooperate and gain cooperation in turn, to the increased inability to satisfy needs, to increased conflict. In this way the cycle is much the same as the cycle for the self-withdrawn.

CHAPTER 3

PERSONAL, SOCIAL, AND VOCATIONAL WAYS

Focus in the previous chapter was placed on defensive reactions to frustration and insecurity. The defenses themselves stem from the inability of a person to tolerate the fear that accompanies threatening experiences. These defenses, in turn, add to the burden of his disorder and further the development of his maladjustment. At this point the healthier reactions to threat are considered. These are the person's reactions as he actually strives to adjust the situation properly, as he actually attempts to cope with the problems at hand.

Coping reactions are usually in the direction of adjustment, although they are seldom completely effectual. They are limited by poor social communication, inadequate experience, limited perspective, and misconceptions. As a result, these adjustive activities of reasonably well-adjusted people can almost always be improved. Nevertheless, they are working in the general direction of mental health and social efficiency.

When a person's tolerance for his fear and anxiety is great enough, he lives with his fears and strives to reduce his basic conflicts and the dangers around him. The actions he takes are directed toward overcoming obstacles and are:

3.1 Coping reactions. We considered these reactions briefly in the prior Section 2.5.1. They are the everyday habitual activities of ordinary people striving to improve their immediate or long-range existences. They may be as small as changing one's seat in a theater in order to see better, or as large as the decision to change one's life plans for greater enjoyment.

Coping activities require some measure of time, effort, and/or worldly goods. The person must give of what he has in order to gain what he desires. To the extent that he is forced to give excessively for minor gratification, his coping efficiency is low. To the extent that he can reduce his net contribution in return for more-adequate rewards, his coping efficiency rises. In this sense, complex social action is an advanced form of what in a much simpler sense we call *economic commerce*.

Unless the element of time is recognized, equating personal efficiency with good adjustment may lead to erroneous conclusions. The criminal engages in "apparently" efficient activities in that they lead to immediate rewards with minimum effort. However, the long-range picture suggests considerably greater eventual punishment, including concealment, anxiety, capture, and imprisonment, all of which may outweigh the immediate reward. Therefore, the behavior is not efficient. However, conditions can be outlined in which amoral activity is efficient and must be recognized as being adjustive, although not necessarily normal, conventional, or conforming. Coping-efficiency must be assessed situationally—for a given person, at a given time, under given conditions, in terms of total personal satisfaction.

The trends of a person's coping reactions result from the orientation he has toward living. This orientation includes his pattern of personal concepts, evaluations, predispositions, and decisions. The first of these tendencies, as outlined in Figure 3-1, are his:

3.2 Conceptual tendencies. Past experiences and immediate perceptions suggest that rewards and punishments are highly selective: more likely under some conditions than others. They also suggest the importance of focusing attention on those types of situations that are most conducive to success. Gradually, as a result, a set of personal tendencies evolves, which then characterizes the person's distribution of his time and effort. More time and effort are directed toward those aspects of the environment that he anticipates will bring greatest reward. The environment is conceived of in a lopsided manner. The important elements stand out; others are pressed into the shadows and background.

In general, we can outline a three-way conceptual framework for thinking about situations. People tend to focus their attention and concern, time and effort toward (1) the world of people, (2) the world of things, and/or (3) the world of ideas. This is not to suggest that one point of view is taken to the complete exclusion of the others. Rather, each person tends to focus on one, pay less attention to another, and least attention to a third.

Adjustment in the area of primary focus results in the greatest rewards or punishments. In the area of minor focus, high or low competence makes little difference in the long run. The automobile mechanic who is uninformed concerning Newton's laws of motion is not greatly handicapped; the automobile designer is. The automobile salesman must make his bid for success more in the world of people than in the world of either things or ideas.

Although we can assume that this focus of attention stems from

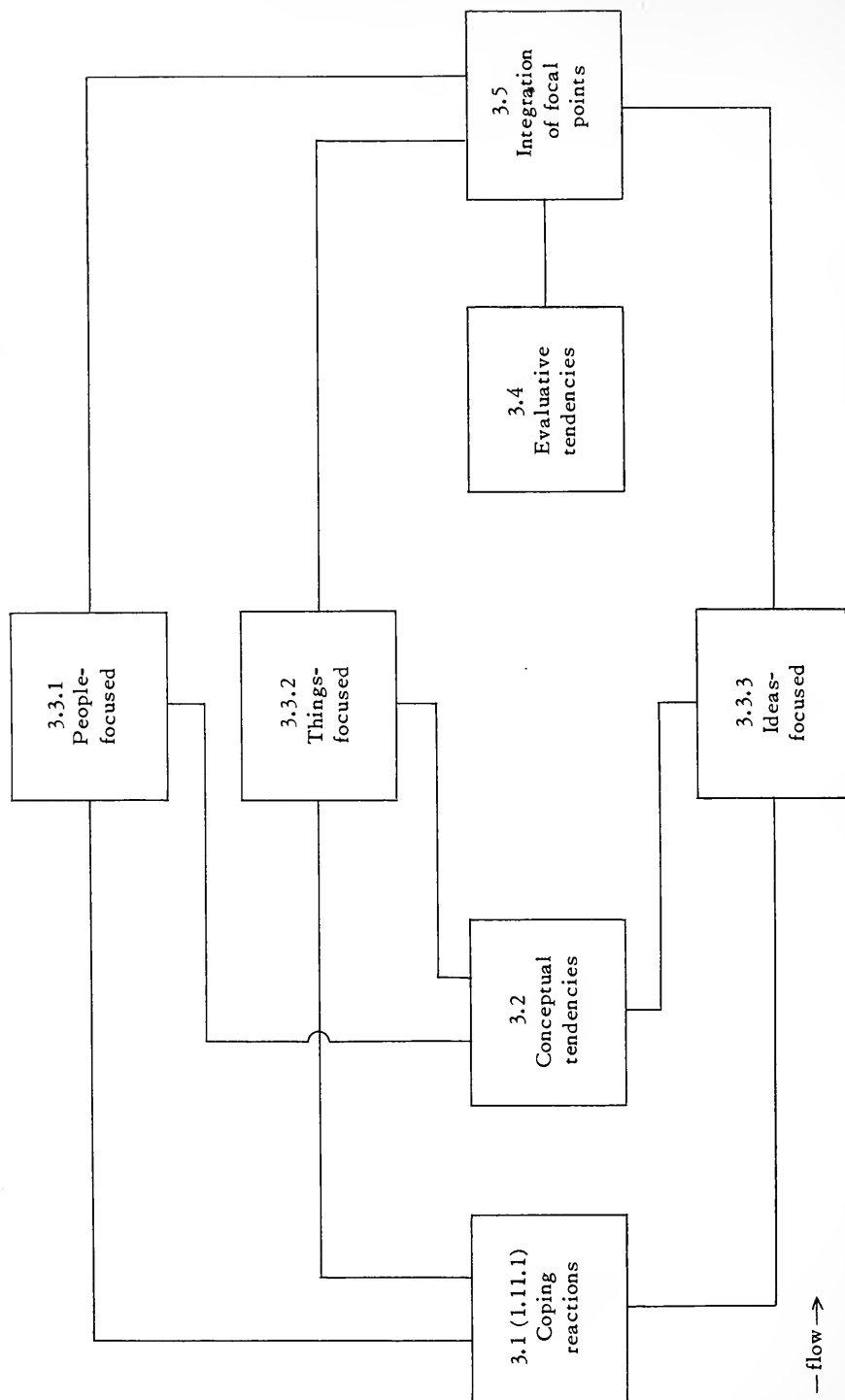


Fig. 3-1. The pattern of adaptive tendencies.

early learning, there is also an emotional factor to consider. Certainly one must come in direct and rewarding contact with people, things, or ideas in order to focus on them. However, the structure of society is such that people, to the exclusion of things or ideas, are always the fundamental elements in a young child's life. The earliest rewards and punishments come through the people in his family and age-mate groups. As a result, the first focus is always on people. The focus later changes for some people. The change takes place as a result of prolonged and intense frustration and dissatisfaction with the world of people. The shift to things or ideas comes as a means of gaining rewards with less effort, when the social world goes sour. However, once an individual has tasted the rewards of either of the other two focuses, a return to the social focus may not take place even if the social situation improves.

These three focuses represent central dimensions in one's life. The first of these is in the direction of the social world. The person is:

3.3.1 People-focused. With such a focus, a person turns toward people and social relations in order to work out his basic desires and life plans. The social environment is all-important. The extent to which a friendly environment of associates can be maintained is also important. People are the source of ego-gratification. That others accept and encourage the self is relatively essential. Acceptance from others is a sign of personal worth.

The socially-focused person may or may not be recognized as gregarious, socially sensitive, or even friendly. His various social talents may or may not be great. He does not necessarily succeed in his desire to be surrounded by adequate social companionships. Nevertheless, he feels that it is only through such social relations that one can expect happiness. If pain and punishment result, they result from inadequacies within this social sphere.

On the other hand, skills, preoccupations, and interests in objects other than people suggest his being:

3.3.2 Things-focused. Such a focus can be seen in a variety of different areas. The farmer is preoccupied with the land and its products. The mechanic is concerned with the machine. The merchant seaman loves the sea and the ships. The engineer transfers his personal desires into technological developments. Each in his own way is things-focused.

The relation of the things-focused individual to the things around him is often one of almost interpersonal love, closeness, and affection. One boy's feeling for his hot-rod is similar to the love of another boy for his sweetheart. Things are the source—often dis-

placed and distorted, sometimes direct and obvious—of great reward and satisfaction.

This focus on things is often a channeling of basic social needs into other areas of cultural importance, thus gaining satisfaction without social skills. An orientation toward things is often an orientation toward tangible objects which can be coped with in their relative simplicity, when childhood lessons showed that people were flighty, unpredictable, and cruel.

As the focus becomes more ideological, people and other cultural items are seen in terms of symbols, abstracts, and concepts. The tendency is then:

3.3.3 Ideas-focused. The focus on ideas is also often a displaced focus. It may be an intellectual way of coping with people without the danger of a more direct emotional relation. It permits dealing with things without the necessity for mechanical dexterity and skill. Or, a focus on ideas may be encouraged in its own right by the high rewards assigned to intellectualism in many parts of the culture. The person learns that prestige and leadership, which may not be possible in the world of people or of things, are possible in the world of ideas.

Oriented as he is toward ideas, a person can manipulate and control his environment all within his own head. He is in a position of power while relatively protected against attack. So long as his intellectual, conceptual superiority can be maintained, the self may be satisfied. His feelings of competence stem from his ability to manipulate concepts, to abstract, to symbolize, to analyze, and to synthesize. Even social love and acceptance may come from these intellectual exercises.

For each person, these three modes integrate to form a blend. No person is all one, none of the other. The integration of social, physical, and ideological tendencies permits the average individual to cope with all of these areas at least at a minimal level of competence. In the one area of his major concern his competence must be especially high, for this is the major source of his success or failure, his pleasure or pain.

Once focal areas have been established, the particular approach to these areas evolves as a function of:

3.4 Evaluative tendencies. These are the specific techniques of adjustment valued by a person. They are perhaps most critical in determining individual differences in coping with similar situations. The relative importance of these different approaches provides the basis for much social philosophy and is given attention in language. Using the guide supplied us by the English language, we can outline

the different approaches that different individuals value as the best of all possible ways to gain happiness.

In Table 3-1 is a set of possible ways of acting. Each person

TABLE 3-1

EVALUATIVE TENDENCIES: MOST VALUED MODES OF ADJUSTMENT

<i>Values dominated by:</i>	<i>Values labeled as:</i>	<i>Linguistic representation</i>
A. the past	traditionalism	I do what WAS done.
B. the present	normalcy	I do what IS BEING done.
C. the future	progressivism	I do what WILL BE (WOULD BE, SHALL BE) done.
D. needs	pragmatism	I do what MUST BE done.
E. concepts	realism	I do what CAN BE (COULD BE) done.
F. values	conventionalism	I do what OUGHT TO BE (SHOULD BE done.
G. predispositions	opportunism	I do what MIGHT BE done.

dominates his existence by his belief in one or more of these to the relative exclusion of others. Those that he values, however, do not necessarily provide him the best source for his reward.

To the extent to which a person depends on *traditionalism* (3·4·A), his way of handling situations is guided by the ways he is most familiar with in his past. He feels discomfort at the possibility of trying untried methods. He is often labeled *conservative* or *old-fashioned*.

The person who values present ways of acting directs his attention toward the *normalcy* (3·4·B) modes. He follows the popular pattern. His actions are average, conforming to the majority way.

Preoccupation with the future suggests *progressivism* (3·4·C). The person conceives of the future as the major factor in determining his activities. Action is to permit this future to take its course. Progress and forward movement are all important.

Dominated by the needs of the situation, either his own or others, the believer in *pragmatism* (3·4·D) strives to satisfy such needs. The ends, and not the means, are important. Tangible results are the most valued aspect of a social situation. Things are important to the extent that they are useful.

When a person is predisposed to deal with situations in terms of their objective, concrete, unemotional nature, we may label his value system *realism* (3·4·E). His actions are taken in terms of the realistic possibilities of the situation. One does what can be done.

When values are valued for themselves, behavior reflects *conventionalism* (3·4·F). The person is recognized as hypermoral, overly ethical, proper, adhering to the standards. The standards in question may be those common to the group or may occasionally be private, even deviant from the culture. Nevertheless, using an unalterable code of values to regulate behavior is a unique mode of adjustment. It is easily recognized when the code is public, less easily when the code is private; but the dynamics of the situation are much the same.

Finally, we can isolate a tendency which we call *opportunism* (3·4·G). The person scans the situation, perceives the predispositions, and follows them. He seeks out the inclinations, the probabilities, the tendencies within any field; and he acts to take advantage of them. The opportunities are present as situational predispositions; he merely grasps them as they come by.

3·5 *Integration of focal points.* These evaluative tendencies blend with the person's conceptual tendencies to produce his fairly clear-cut and characteristic modes of adjustment. Each man can be recognized in part by how much of his life is wrapped up with people, things, or ideas. Then, added to this is the way in which he deals with these people, things, and ideas. He may be seen as an opportunist, a realist, progressive or conventional, pragmatic or traditional. Often he shows two or three of these modes strongly; another two or three are weak. But there is nothing exclusive about any of these tendencies, and they can be combined to produce a rich diversity in points of view in respect to just about anything and anybody.

Gradually, as these tendencies solidify with experience, it is as if each man was living in three separate worlds: the world of people, the world of things, and the world of ideas. He reacts in a similar manner in these various worlds; but there are some ways of reacting, as outlined in Figure 3-2, that he reserves more or less specifically for one or the other.

The world of people. In the world of people, a person finds himself confronted by many different situations through which others as well as himself hope to find their own gratification. These situations, which are almost universal, demand some considerable give-and-take, always some degree of compromise. The root of all social situations is such interdependence of people trying to gain satisfaction through their mutuality. The gratification of any one person is dependent on the cooperation of many others, and their satisfaction in turn is dependent on still others.

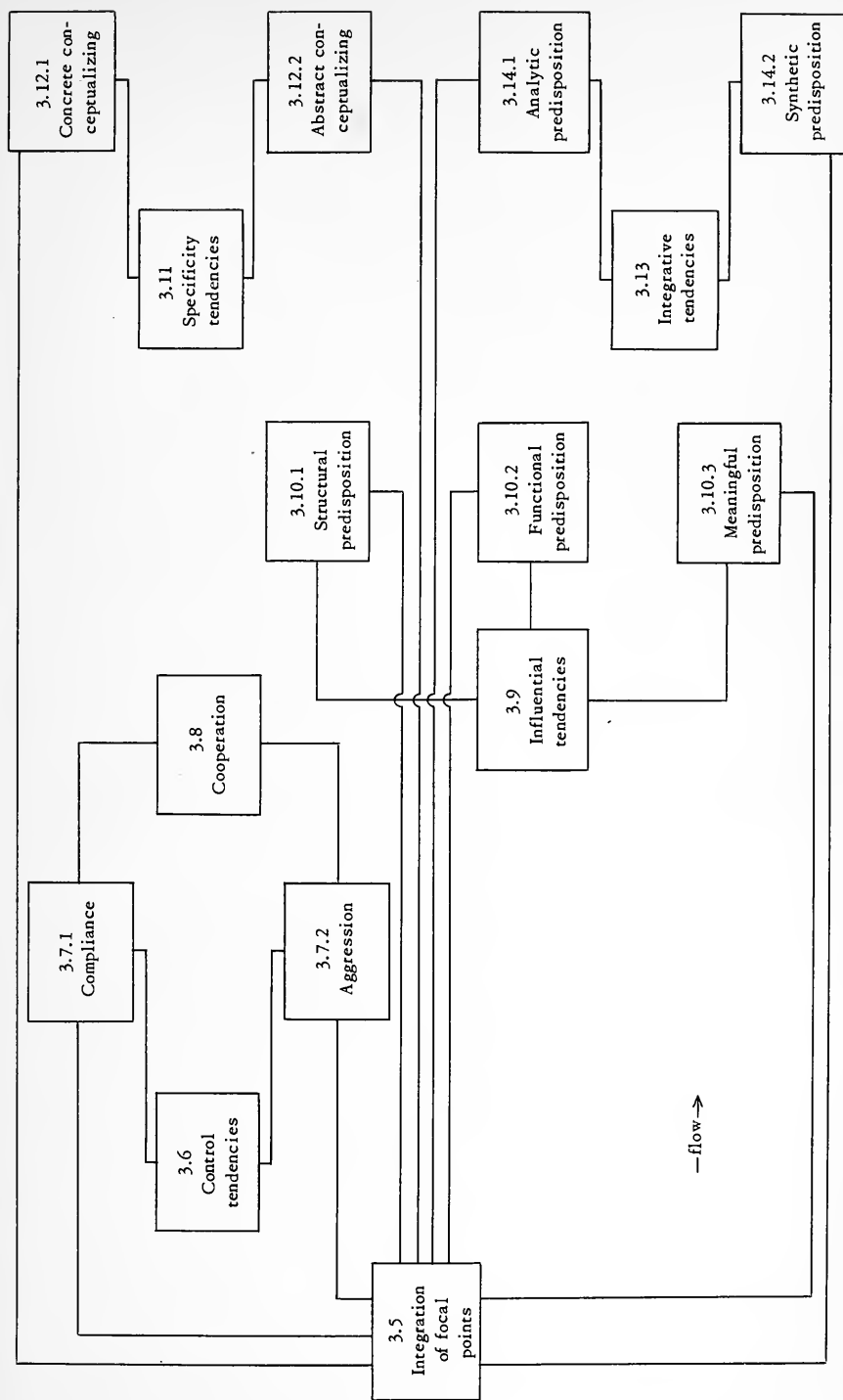


Fig. 3-2. Coping tendencies and predispositions.

In this basic give-and-take among people, one fairly fundamental personality characteristic is how much a person is inclined to give, how much to take. This dimension, which appears to be singularly stable for a given individual under wide varieties of social situations, reflects his:

3.6 Control tendencies. A person's needs form a hierarchy, one specific desire having the greatest need of satisfaction at any given time. In normal social relations it is seldom possible to satisfy the one specific need most in need of satisfaction at the time of greatest desire. Often it is not possible to satisfy any needs at all. Prolonged periods must be devoted to the cooperative satisfaction of the needs of others in the group. As a result, prolonged personal frustration and dissatisfaction is a common, to-be-expected aspect of all close social relations.

Under these conditions the individual must control himself, his desires, and his demands. His efficiency results from his exerting self-control at strategic moments in order to gain satisfaction at more opportune times. The ability to control one's needs is a variable, differing from time to time and from situation to situation for the same person. It also differs widely for different people under similar circumstances.

Early childhood experiences often accent the relative importance or unimportance of such self-control. Hypercontrol training is spoken of as *restrictive*. Hypocontrol training is referred to as *indulgent*. The extent to which indulgent or restrictive training influenced the child's life helps determine his tendencies toward or away from future self-control.

Under the conditions in which overcontrol and excessive self-restriction have been internalized, the result is extreme:

3.7.1 Compliance. Continued social compliance develops into a state of chronic dissatisfaction and social inadequacy. This social unhappiness of the compliant adult or child often goes unseen; he is not likely to be a chronic complainer. He merely acts to satisfy others within the group to his own detriment and the absence of his own gratification. Social hypercompliance results in much social advantage to others, little social advantage to the compliant person himself. He is welcome in many circles, not for his own benefit but for the good of the other group members. As such, social hypercompliance is one horn of a social dilemma. The compliant person gains membership relatively easily, but he finds such membership relatively unsatisfying. At this extreme, prolonged compliance is extremely ineffective as a means of social adjustment.

At the other extreme, there is a condition in which the individual tends to conceive of social interactions as exclusively for his own personal welfare. Others are expected to work for his good, comply with his wishes, engage and indulge him. This is the emotional basis of extreme:

3·7·2 Aggression. Under these conditions the person spends a disproportionate amount of time making demands on others in the group. The group, in turn, finds little opportunity to use the aggressive individual for its own purposes; his membership is of little value to them. The person with extreme self-demanding tendencies finds that group memberships are satisfying, but memberships are hard to come by and are short-lived. As a result, his extreme under-control makes it difficult for him to gain prolonged social need-satisfaction. An aggressive reaction to social situations operates reasonably effectively during periods in which a person can obtain and maintain his own authoritarian leadership over the environment. Under conditions in which he is expected to comply and follow others, his reactions are disruptive and frustrating.

Both extremes, if not counterbalanced by one another, are detrimental to need-satisfaction. Nevertheless, these two extremes of control do blend and integrate into what is recognized as:

3·8 Cooperation. Cooperation is a matter of give-and-take: compliance (give) and aggression (take). As such it can stem from two rather dissimilar types of personalities. There is the cooperative person who oscillates between extreme compliance and extreme aggression. He takes and gives insistently; he is both a strong and dominant leader to some and a helpful and active assistant to others. He gains great rewards and makes great contributions. His presence in the group is felt at both extremes.

On the other hand, cooperation may result from a blend in which neither great aggression nor great compliance is ever used. The person gives very little to others and takes very little for himself in turn. He is emotionally on the periphery of group membership. He takes no leadership and follows others only hesitantly and with reserve. He is characterized by his social withdrawal at some times, by his indecision at others.

In either of these cases, or in the range between these extremes, cooperation is always a balance between self-demands and social compliance. Excess in either direction results in conflict. However, excess in both directions jointly may result in extreme gratification and reward. Social success does not necessarily result from mediocrity, but often from the balance of strong forces.

The world of things. Vocational choice, with all of the resultant satisfaction or dissatisfaction, success or failure, stems from an almost infinite variety of factors. Parental influences, social forces, casual opportunities accepted or rejected, perceptions and misperceptions of possible rewards, emotional and irrational attractions, economic desires, social status concerns—all play their part. The net effect is a decision that fundamentally determines the nature of conflicts and adjustments for decades into the future. Satisfaction at a job combines necessary financial rewards with a wide variety of personal, social, egoistic, and emotional rewards. Needs for creativity, craftsmanship, companionship, prestige, power, social position, advancement, paternal protection, challenge—all must be considered. The opportunities to make an unwise vocational choice are much greater than the opportunities to make a wise one.

It is within the world of things that the large plurality of vocations exists. Most men toil in direct relation to the cultural world of man-made objects, at one level or another, and to a lesser extent, in both the world of people and the world of ideas. Different jobs related to the same tangible things make widely differing demands on the personalities of the workers and widely different orientations are often necessary. For the salesman, the advertising agent, the merchandizing agent, and the package designer, social factors may be of most importance. For the design engineer, the chemist, the business agent, and the junior executive, intellectual factors may predominate. For others—the production engineer, the machine tool maker, the production line worker, the inspector—more tangible orientations, skills, and aptitudes are called for.

At this point, we focus on only one of the significant aspects of the relation of personality to the vocational situation: we consider only the things, the physical relations, the cultural items of his vocational world.

3.9 Influential tendencies. In dealing with the things around him, a person exerts some sort of influence and is influenced in turn. In many respects the pattern of influences is similar to those in interpersonal relations. The person sees his relations with things (or people) at a given level and attempts to alter them in line with his own point of view.

We can outline three fairly different points of view in respect to such influence. First, there is a tendency to influence the structure of a given object or situation; the physical nature and form are of major importance. Second, there is the tendency to influence the

function of the situation. Changes are made in order to obtain new and more efficient effects. Operations are conceived of in terms of their objectives, their ends and goals. Third, there is the inclination to influence the meaning and logic behind a given item or process. The focus is on the rhyme and the reason behind an activity. The rules and laws of nature and of society are important.

We consider these three different tendencies toward influence separately. The tendency to influence the structure of things results in a:

3·10·1 *Structural predisposition*. A preoccupation with structure is important when it is necessary to alter the form of an object without concern over its function or meaning. This is the case with many activities relating to building, arts and crafts, clerical work, accounting and other tabulations, record keeping. A person who thinks of things in terms of beauty, color and form, place and position, general physical nature, reflects his structural preoccupation.

By comparison, there is the orientation that suggests a:

3·10·2 *Functional predisposition*. This concern is most noticeable in an engineering orientation toward situations. Things (or people) are manipulated in terms of their uses. The application of an object is the basis for assessing its worth. Good things work well, bad things do not. The same would hold equally true in relation to people or ideas. People are valued in terms of their usefulness. Concepts must be applied so that they can be made functional and of value to someone—perhaps economically, perhaps politically.

There is also the third orientation:

3·10·3 *Meaningful predisposition*. This is the preoccupation with the meaning in any situation. In this direction lie the scientists, the philosophers, the students of logic and reason. They seek the truth, the natural order, the rule and regulation, the rationale that governs events. This person may be happy in the research laboratory and miserable in the factory or at a managerial level.

The rather fundamental differences among these three approaches to situations cannot be overly stressed. Many conflicts between individuals in an industrial organization can be traced back to this basic disagreement about the "objectives" of any action. Often the structure, the function, or the meaning of a situation must be badly violated in order to satisfy one or another of the three factors. Science must bow to engineering, art to science, in many industrial and military situations. The trichotomy

of structure-function-meaning has been outlined predominantly for the orientation in respect to things. However, similar analyses could be made at both the social and intellectual levels.

The world of ideas. All of an individual's relations with people and things start first as cognitive activity; thoughts precede actions. The ways in which he deals with the outside world reflect how he deals with his own mental processes.

Under some conditions, mental activities become important in and of themselves. Mental competence is used as a substitute for social and physical competence, rather than as a means of gaining these more outer-world oriented skills. In the world of ideas it is unnecessary to have great social or physical skills. With adequate capacity and effective training it is possible to gain success with only a minimum of social interaction.

Within the intellectual sphere, two tendencies stand out. First, there are differences in the use of specificity in thought. Second, there are differences in the use of integration. Taken in order, we have first the:

3-11 Specificity tendencies. At one end of the continuum is the predisposition to treat each concept or idea as a specific entity. At the other extreme is the tendency to seek the similarities and commonalities from among a variety of apparently dissimilar ideas.

At the one end, the point of hyperspecificity, we have:

3-12-1 Concrete conceptualizing. Concrete thought is characterized by an inability to see general similarities within a set of different situations. Each item is perceived as a unique configuration of equally unique components. From such concrete thoughts come such stereotyped statements as, "All people are different. It is therefore impossible to study them." Or, "General principles are all well and good, but they just don't apply in actual situations."

The advantage of such concrete thinking is in an ability to perform tasks that would frustrate people with nonconcrete orientations. The performance of complex routine tasks involving the successive manipulation of many parts is effectively performed in a concrete manner and with little abstract thought.

At the other extreme is:

3-12-2 Abstract conceptualizing. Now one is concerned with only the common elements from a variety of concrete items; things and people are generalized. At this extreme, thinking can be so abstract that almost all concrete real-world reference is lost. Mathematical thinking deals with purely abstract symbols which are only made concrete and specific when applied to a unique problem. Abstract conceptual ability is highly valued in the sciences

and philosophy. It permits the user to go beyond the basic data to the general principles that hold for a variety of cases and conditions.

Combining these two extremes, each person selects an optimum blend of the two tendencies. The blend produces a level of specificity that is most comfortable for his particular intellectual functioning.

The second of the important intellectual tendencies are the:

3.13 Integrative tendencies. Concepts are highly involved phenomena. They contain a wide variety of components and form into a wide variety of organizations and configurations. Any thought process contains elements that relate to many different aspects of the social and physical world. They also relate to the person, the thinker, his past experiences and his desires.

Orientations in handling the complexity of thoughts vary. On the one hand there is the:

3.14.1 Analytic predisposition. Analysis is the process of breaking down configurations into subordinate component parts. Ideas are digested or disintegrated to consider the factors that enter into them. The predisposition in this direction may be noted in empirical scientists, critics, systems analysts, or industrial process engineers. It is a valued asset in trouble shooting, chemical assay, time or motion study.

Extreme analytic predispositions often make it impossible for a person to see the forest for all the trees. He loses sight of the configuration and focuses on the parts alone. Since many things only function as a result of the way in which they are organized, this microscopic view of the world can be handicapping.

At the other extreme is the:

3.14.2 Synthetic predisposition. Synthetic thinking integrates and combines aspects of a situation to form one or more organized units. The person is preoccupied with the intellectual exercise of seeing how things go together, how they work in combination, what new effects can be discovered through new arrangements of old parts. This focus is characteristic of the inventor, the philosopher, the rational scientist, the design and development engineer. It is a key in any form of diagnostics: medical, criminal, psychological. It is the intellectual mechanism whenever a set of fairly isolated clues or symptoms have to be properly combined to suggest a pattern or organization.

In the extreme, synthetic thinking may result in an inability to break down important processes into their components. Once confronted by a total configuration, the overzealous synthesizer

may not be able to see the small ramifications and the more specific details.

The integrative and specificity tendencies are often related. People inclined toward analysis may tend also toward concreteness. These tendencies compliment each other. As one analyzes, one often ends up with relatively concrete elements. Similarly, the more abstract the situation, the more often it results from the synthesizing of a large number of parts.

Part II

Mapping Subjective Feelings

CHAPTER 4

PLANNING THE MAP

Clinical practice and scientific research demand that we deal with objective data, real and observable. As a result, there are two possible alternatives when it comes to subjective feelings. One, we may elect to assume that such feelings, not being objective, are not fair game. They are not admissible as evidence in either the clinic or the laboratory. The other alternative is to deal with the immediate task of converting from subjective to objective, hoping all the while that not too much will be lost in the process.

Subjective feelings are subjective; that is obvious, as is the fact that subjective and objective are mutually exclusive terms. This being the case, when we set to the task of mapping subjective feelings, we are in effect attempting to make objective that which diametrically is not. We are seeking some way of converting that which is inside a person's head into something which we, and others, can examine and understand.

The task is a real one, and worthwhile. It contains two major parts: first, to answer the question as to what is worth mapping; second, to find some way in which to obtain an objective picture. First, in respect to the question as to what should be mapped:

The things that take place in a man's mind are probably governed by much the same human need as governs other human activities—the desire for survival. Some of this mental activity we call thinking, some we speak of as a man's personality, some as his emotional experience. But in general, the totality of this vast activity of the central nervous system might be grouped under the heading we have been using: subjective feelings. Until such time as we have evidence to the contrary, it would seem reasonable to assume that all such subjective feeling works toward the same common end point, survival and security, safety and homeostatic well-being. This is, of course, within the limits imposed by a man's awareness and knowledge, his efficiency and effectiveness.

Naturally, the extent to which one gains any high degree of real personal security is subject to many factors and considerable inter-

ference. A desire for survival is the goal of a person's actions; but we must recognize that this goal is only approached, never actually gained. Personality moves in the direction of security as an ideal, but never in fact reaches it.

Central to the assessment of subjective feelings, therefore, is an assessment of the primary and secondary needs that a person seeks to satisfy in his quest for survival. His desires and his wishes serve as the immediate triggers for his choice of actions. These actions in turn will be used as means toward ends which—hopefully—bring gratification.

Shortly after birth, the basic biological needs of a child are structured and placed in social context. As social needs grow out of this new situation, they then serve as major means through which to eventually satisfy more primary biological needs. By adulthood the specific desires for biochemical foodstuffs, water, body-temperature control, sexual stimulation and satisfaction are all clouded with social significance. As a result, social needs usually appear, at least superficially, to have greater motivating power.

Individual differences in need-systems develop from a blend of differences in biological tendencies, past experiences, social and cultural heritage. In turn, such differences in needs result in differences in a person's present and future experiences, his social actions and interactions. Although his motivation is perhaps the central factor in all aspects of his action, this motivation is always regulated in relation to a social world.

At any time and for any purpose, a variety of actions is usually available: withdrawal, attack, compliance, postponement are all possible in any number of different ways. As a result, predicting exactly what specific act will result under any specific condition is still the basic riddle of social science. A man's choice of actions is so great, and the variety of his situations so large, that prediction and control is difficult if not impossible.

Just as it is difficult for an outsider to predict what actions a person will take, so it is often equally as difficult for the person himself to make such a prediction. He must first engage in a multiplicity of mental activities, all of which regulate and determine the pattern of actions he will adopt.

One major regulation of his action takes place as a result of his impressions of the past. The memory of which actions brought reward or punishment, pleasure or displeasure in times past serves as a path for his selecting a specific way of gaining present gratification. The past, not as it was but only as it is remembered (often unconsciously), serves as the guide. And yet such memories are

often quite poor imitations of the real past. Nevertheless, they are one foundation for present and future acts.

Impressions of the past serve as guides because they supply evidence of what worked well in the past under conditions similar to those in the present. However, before such information can be put to use, the present situation must be experienced. The person's perception of the present situation supplies him with information about the on-going social conditions under which his gratification must be obtained. Only in combination with such perception can his impressions of the past be of any real value, since effective action depends on the accuracy of such perceptions.

A person's perception of social and personal situations contains a variety of components, two of which appear outstanding in significance. First, he must consider the multidimensional picture of himself. He is dependent to a great extent on what he feels he is, what he feels he can do, what he feels his strong points are, what he feels are his natural modes of action, what he feels are his unique personal ways of doing business. Well integrated and organized, this personal self-evaluation is a fine picture of his future thoughts and patterns of social relations.

Second, his environment, not necessarily as it actually is but as he thinks it is, influences his actions by setting up a picture of the world in which he must act. To the best of his ability a man lives within the bounds of his own self-expectations and self-appraisals. But he must make these mesh with his impression of other people.

Habitual perceptions of the environment are encouraged and established by the relative ease with which a person can see those things that are familiar and set within old frames of reference. As a result, a novel, unique, individually different part of his world is not always recognized for its full importance. Using what is already inside his head, he often reacts to a new person more on the basis of his feelings about people in general than in terms of this actual person.

~ To some extent a person is realistic in his thinking about himself and his world, but to a larger extent he is not. Great discrepancies can and often do exist. Impossibilities may be considered possible. Possibilities may be considered impossible. As far as a man's actions and life are concerned, it is not so important by far to know what limitations actually exist as it is to know what limits he *thinks* exist. As in most instances, his feelings rather than fact determine his state of affairs.

~ So far we have commented on three factors of importance in the mapping of subjective feelings. These are (1) the person's

needs and motivating system, (2) his residual impressions of the past, and (3) his present perception of (a) himself and (b) his general social world.

These three factors all interact one on the other. They are not independent or even largely separate in their influence on the person. They influence each other; and through the integrated product, they influence other aspects of personality, thinking, and eventually action and interaction.

~ Perhaps the most significant outgrowth of a man's past, present, and desires is his anticipations of the future. In line with his history of experiences, he builds up evidence concerning the probability of success for each of many sorts of actions and ways of operating. His anticipation of the likelihood of success helps determine which modes of action he shall use. For only those actions that a person deems likely of success are likely to occur.

Always combined with his anticipation of what will bring success is his immediate perception of the field of action. Self and society are perceived as a battlefield on which daily action is to take place. Past experience suggests acts that might succeed, having succeeded under similar conditions in the past. The very meaning of success or failure is dependent on desires and needs. The means of the past, to be used in the present, in anticipation of future success, are used for the satisfaction of wants and wishes.

I know what I want; I know what the immediate conditions are under which I must act; I know what the past suggests should work. As a result, I know what to expect and what to anticipate. Attached to each possible action there is an estimate of my anticipated probability of need-satisfaction. This estimate of success is the senior factor in determining which actions I will try.

To this extent, all human action is a complex of which industrial cost accounting is a simple example. The goal in cost accounting is solvency, the maintenance of an immediate and future state of maximum economic input for minimum economic output—not just today, but into the foreseeable future. The present economic assets and liabilities are known. Past experience with production methods supplies a history of evidence as to the probabilities of profit for any newly proposed venture. Based on these data, a detailed estimate may be made of what can be anticipated in the future. One can indicate which production methods may or may not supply the economic need-satisfier—profit.

The map of a man's mind should ideally give some picture of these factors, as outlined in Figure 4-1, and their interrelations. It should evidence a person's impressions of his past, his per-

ceptions of his present, his anticipations of his future, and his needs. In turn, it should help us to infer how these various parts are affecting each other.

From the blend of these regulatory and motivating forces stem more specific and transient factors. These serve to orient a person, and include his (1) concepts, (2) evaluations, (3) conclusions, and (4) decisions, resulting eventually in his action.

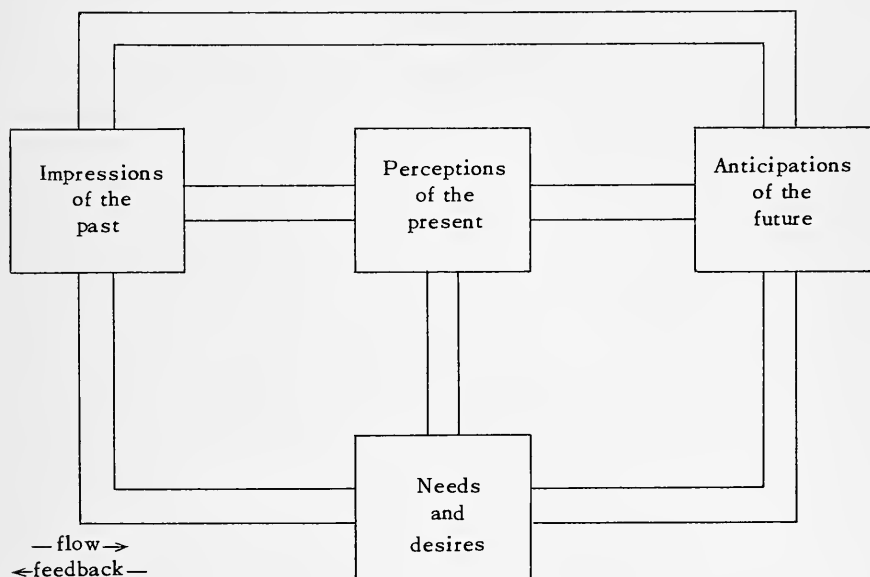


Fig. 4-1. Regulatory and need systems of personality.

The world is real; a person's concept of the world is not. A fine blend of past and present experiences, mixed with his own desires, helps twist and bend reality so that eventually his concept may have little resemblance to its counterpart in the real world. Nevertheless, as a guide for how to act, concepts are the working tools of a man's mind.

The more significant the concept, the more it holds power to help or to harm, the more detailed and vivid it becomes. Things and people on the edge of importance are conceived of with only hazy detail, just enough to make dealing with them possible if the occasion arises. But if a man feels that there is something vital about some part of the world, then his concept of that part will be more involved. An automobile mechanic has a far more complicated concept of an automobile than does a gasoline station attendant.

The attendant, in turn, has a more involved concept of a car than does a housewife who knows of her automobile as little more than a means of transportation. Knowledge of how a person conceives of the important people and things in his life gives a fairly good picture of how his mind works and how he is likely to behave.

But concepts are only the first step toward his eventual activity. All concepts have values attached to them. Parts are marked as dangerous and punishing, others as rewarding and pleasant. These indications of what is good or bad, right or wrong, helpful or harmful, stem from whatever past experience the person has had with this particular part of his world. Future value is estimated from his impressions of past value. For example, when a person speaks about a flight of dangerous stairs, a disagreeable odor, a blind corner, a frightening alley, he is telling us something about both his past experience with things of this type and his anticipations of future dealings with them. All have an unpleasant evaluation: dangerous, disagreeable, blind, frightening.

On the basis of his evaluations, a person forms his conclusions about specific things, under specific conditions, in specific situations, and for specific purposes. These conclusions are stacked away as a kind of reserve, to be revised only with some misgiving and under unusual conditions. Particularly the conclusions that a man has formed about himself and the people closest to him are not easily altered. They form such a fixed background for his activities that we may go so far as to label them. We say that he has a temperament, a set of predisposing tendencies, attitudes, and predilections that we have come to recognize as his way. In fact, sometimes superficially we judge this small part to be his "personality."

When we say that some people are passive, others are friendly, aggressive, quick, or aesthetic, these labels usually do little more than acknowledge conclusions formed by the person we are talking about. They merely suggest that a disproportionate number of situations trigger off subjective tendencies toward passive, friendly, aggressive, quick, or aesthetic types of actions. This, however, is only one part of the subjective stage.

On the basis of such predisposing tendencies, a person makes the concrete decisions that precipitate his actions. Once the decision is crystallized, the action is then determined. Neural functioning triggers off musculature, and thought becomes deed. The mental process completes its function at this point.

Because all of a man's activities stem from the same head, it is natural that there should be some common elements. Predisposing

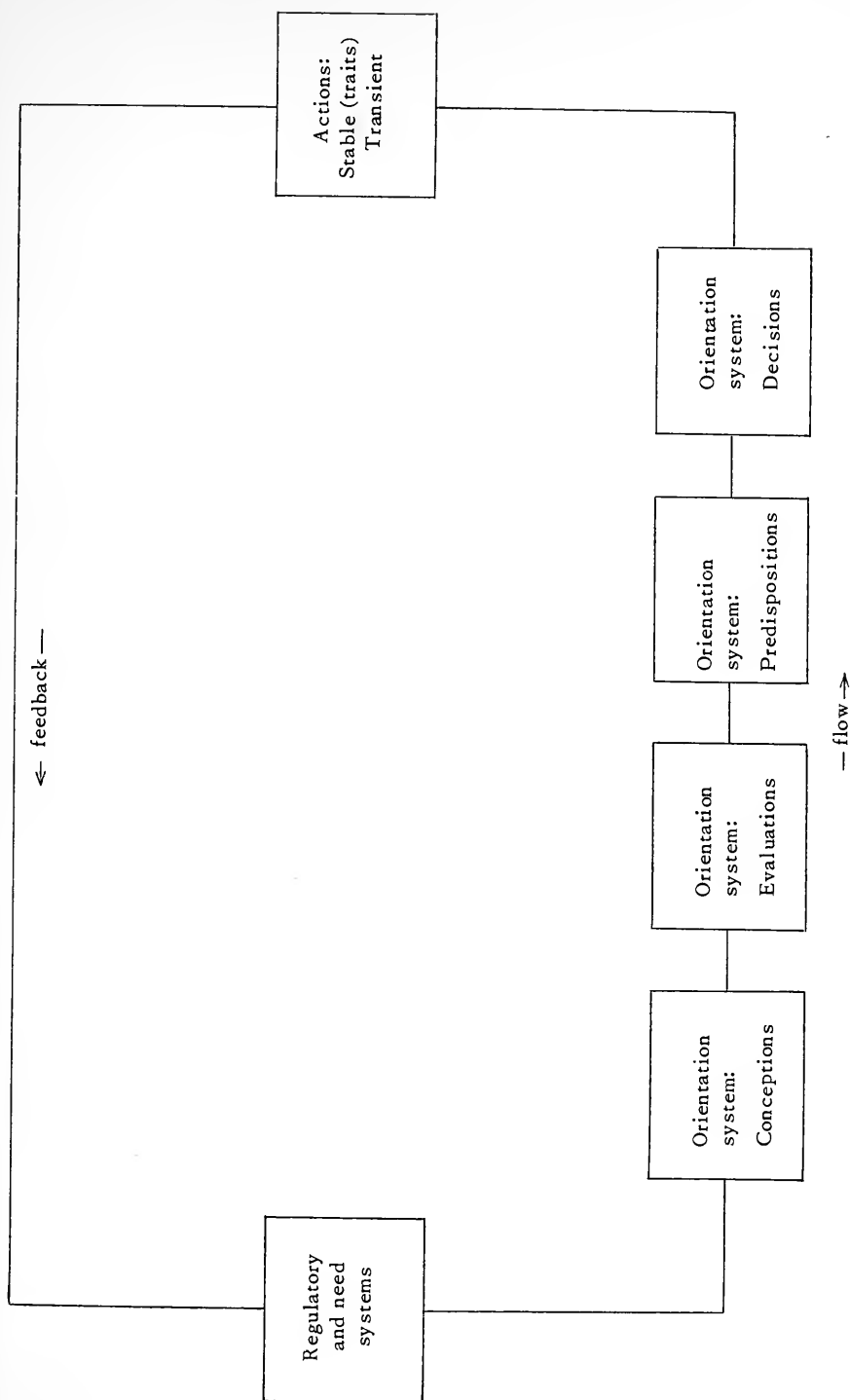


Fig. 4-2. The dimensions of orientation.

tendencies result in many similar ways of acting, and from these acts can be abstracted the common elements. These *traits*, as they are often called, represent the consistencies, the stabilities of a man's life, from situation to situation, from time to time.

Other parts of his action are unique, uncommon, spatially and temporally transient. However, these are of no less importance, since they help us recognize the wide range of different ways in which one man can seek his own destiny, depending on the conditions and the times.

As outlined in Figure 4-2, there is some organization among these many parts of subjective experience. In order to understand a man's life more fully, it is not enough to know what is happening to him, in a coldly objective sense, and what his reactions are. It is important also to know what decisions lead to his actions, what conclusions lead to these decisions, what concepts and evaluations play their part. Even more basic is the need to know something of his motives, his past, present, and future—all as they come together inside his head.

CHAPTER 5

DRAWING THE MAP

Within the past two decades the question of how to assess subjective feelings has become of increasing cultural importance. Psychiatrists want to know how a person's feelings might account for his mental illness. People in industry want to know how people feel about their work, about their associates, about products and ideas. Educators are concerned with the relation of feelings to school success or failure, as well as to social and emotional well-being. The military must consider the subjective feelings of both personnel and civilian populations under extreme conditions.

There are numerous demands for data in this area. Nevertheless, since subjective feelings are still only slightly understood, the development of sound methods for obtaining this information has been correspondingly hesitant and slow. In addition, since subjective experience means many different things to different practitioners, there is a further difficulty. Still, no matter what divergence in point of view they may have, most people in the field would probably agree that a central problem is still the one of efficient quantitative assessment; that is, the mapping of the intangible but quite complex mind of man.

In the quest for methods of assessment there has been development along three lines. First, there is the method of tests, including intelligence tests, aptitude tests, achievement tests, personality tests, and so forth. In general, these tests have a few things in common. The person is questioned and is expected to answer honestly or in the most accurate manner that his mental knowledge or ability permits. The result is some scores that, if reliable, can give a partial picture of some mental tendencies.

A second approach is reflected in the projective methods. The person is presented with some ambiguous experience; he may be shown ink blots, moulded clay figures, vague pictures, or abstract designs. He is asked to express himself freely about them. He is asked to tell, in one form or another, what comes to mind when he is stimulated by these unstructured objects. In this way he is encouraged to supply information about his subjective life. Since

there is little of an objective nature for him to work from, his product is largely an expression of his inner world.

The third path calls for some type of performance. The person may be asked to draw a person or a house, to act out a scene, to copy a set of abstract symbols, or perhaps to finger-paint. The result is a body of expressive products of the subject's inner experience. These, in turn, are analyzed for inner-world clues and meaning.

All of these attempts to assess the subjective world have one thing in common: they require that a person do something. What he does is then used as the basis for assessment. This is the place where all efforts begin. Acknowledging the fact that a person's objective behavior is the only good clue to his subjective thinking, it is then necessary to determine what are the best aspects of behavior to study and what are the best ways of interpreting the resulting data.

~ In attempting to answer these questions, there are two points of view. One is that a person is not a good judge of his own subjective state. This being the case, the map maker cannot rely too heavily on introspective reports. We cannot put too much weight on what a person tells us he is feeling. Rather, we must devise ingenious ways to obtain our picture without the person playing an active and deliberate part to help us. We cannot trust his direct statements; we must rely on indirect and subtle approaches. This point of view has led to the many projective techniques.

It is from this basic assumption that many of the current crop of assessment methods stem. Projective techniques, for example, attempt to set the person off guard. He is supposedly playing a game rather than divulging hidden secrets. Similarly, many tests and expressive tasks are structured so that the person does not feel that he is producing a direct product of his subjective life.

The second point of view assumes that a person has an ability to judge his own subjective state. Further, he has an equally good ability to tell us, rather directly and in a fairly straightforward manner, how he feels and what he is thinking. Of course, this does not mean that he can do so without help or assistance. Rather, acknowledging his ability to open a direct door into his subjective state, we must still find the right key. The map maker must devise the better ways of taking advantage of a person's ability to express himself concerning his feelings. He must devise ways in which to take advantage of the frequently implied, "I know how I feel, but I don't seem to have the words to express it. Can you help me?"

The map maker's first task is to do just this: to help the person express himself directly and with a minimum of difficulty. He must set the stage and arrange all of the props, so that when a person does tell us how he feels and what he is thinking, the result will be as good a picture of his true subjective world as possible.

Depth psychological and psychiatric interviews, social work, and educational counseling depend on the direct expression of feelings. The only difference between these traditional procedures and those that produce maps is in quantification. Interviewing results in data that is not quantitative. The map maker merely adds the further restriction that the expression must be amenable to mapping—that is, it must be quantitative.

It is this approach to map making that we will elaborate here. We start with the fact that a person can express his feelings and subjective experience, just as he does in a depth interview. We then add the map maker's restriction that the expression must be open to mapping. Thus, working with the introspective report of a person, using fixed and standardized rules, we can draw our map of his feelings largely as a result of how he expresses what he feels.

This does not mean that the person has complete freedom to express himself. Such freedom would produce such unique and special results for each and every case that there could be no systematic way of examining the product. Rather, we restrict his free expression by a set of rules. Operating within these simple rules, he can do as he pleases; and his product is a unique map of his own experience. It is a map, however, that can be compared to others.

The rules are as follow:

Rule 1. There must be a limited number of ways in which a person can answer any question. These limited ways, however, must allow for a wide variety of different patterns of subjective feelings. They must limit the nature of an answer, but they must not destroy its individuality and uniqueness.

For example, in the maps we shall consider, when we ask a person a question he must answer it by selecting three words from the fifteen that we supply. He must answer the question again by selecting three words from the twelve he did not select the first time. Then, again he must answer the question by selecting three words from the nine now left. Finally, he must again answer the question by selecting three words from the last six. He thus leaves three words over. In this way we have asked him to think

about the question four separate times, each time in a slightly different way, depending on what answers he arrived at during his previous introspections.

Let us consider an example of this type of questioning. Assuming that we wish to obtain a map of a person's feelings about his mother, we might ask him, "From this set of words choose the three that you feel most describe your mother." We might give him the following set of terms: *angry, bitter, childish, evil, feeble, gloomy, hasty, jealous, loud, reckless, savage, silly, stupid, vain, weary*.

Rule 2. Whenever we ask a question, the limited choice of answers must always cause the person to do some considerable, often painful, self-searching. The choice must be such that he cannot escape from his true feelings by merely expressing some socially acceptable but irrelevant nonsense.

Again, using the maps we shall consider later as examples, whenever we ask a person to describe his feelings about something or someone he feels positively toward, we ask him to do so in a negative or unpleasant manner (as in the example in Rule 1). If, on the other hand, he has mainly negative feelings, we question him so that he must describe these negative feelings in positive and pleasant ways. In each case we insist on the most threatening and emotionally involving type of introspection.

Rule 3. In order to have a standard map by which to compare different people, or different times for the same person, or different feelings, we must work with a fixed and unalterable set of terms by which any question is to be answered. We can use as many or as few sets of terms as we choose. We can alter the instructions as we see fit, within the limits of the first two rules. But we cannot alter the established internal nature of any of the sets of terms. Also, we cannot change the question while the person is making his repetitive choices within a given set of terms.

Asking one question, with one set of answer terms, maps but a few points in the subjective world. Asking an infinite number of questions, with an equally infinite number of word sets, would perhaps map the complete subjective experience; but this, of course, is impossible. As some sort of compromise between these two conditions, we can treat one particular map form, using seven standardized questions and twenty standardized sets of fifteen terms each. The questions are given in the Appendix (page 239).

Perhaps the quickest way to grasp the nature of the method of subjective report from which the map evolves is to pretend to be a person under assessment. This person and an administrator would

be seated, perhaps facing each other across a table. Before them are the sets of terms that will be used as the person's special language for answering questions. There are also some little covers by which the person can cover a term as a way of responding without speaking, thus making it unnecessary to verbalize an often unpleasant feeling.

As an overture and introduction, the administrator might say something along the following lines: "We are interested in discovering something about how you feel about things in general. We are especially interested in knowing how you feel about yourself and the world around you.

"In order to do this, I will ask you a few simple questions. You should try to answer these questions by choosing some words I will show you. Be very careful and honest about how you answer the questions. Sometimes it will be difficult to make a decision, but do the best you can.

"Remember, there are no right answers and no wrong answers. Everybody is different, and everybody answers the questions differently."

The administrator then turns to the first set of terms: *accurate, calm, competent, decent, firm, generous, honest, loving, modest, patient, prompt, reliable, serious, spiritual, thankful*.

The administrator says, "The first thing we would like to know is: how do you feel about yourself? From these words choose the three that you feel describe you the least. Remember, choose the three that you feel describe you the least. Cover these three terms with the little covers."

The administrator records *A* for these three terms, using the numbers on the covers as his guide. See Figures 5-1 and 5-2.

He continues: "Again, choose the three words that you feel now describe you the least. Remember, choose the three that you feel now describe you the least and cover them."

The administrator records *B* for these three terms, and continues: "Again choose and cover the three words that you feel now describe you the least."

After recording *C* for these three terms, the request is, "Again choose and cover the three words that you feel now describe you the least."

These three terms are recorded as *D*. There are now three terms left over, and these are recorded as *E*.

Using this general procedure, it would be equally possible to tap feelings about a wide range of people and experiences. Under some conditions, we might use a highly specific kind of inquiry.

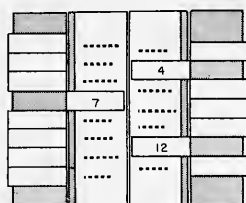
	CLEVER	CRITICAL	
	DELICATE	DIRECT	
	FUNNY	INDEPENDENT	
	MENTAL	NATURAL	
	PASSIONATE	QUIET	
	SENSITIVE	SHREWD	
	SMOOTH	STERN	
	SWEET		

Fig. 5-1. Assessment procedure. Given a choice of fifteen terms, the person selects three to best answer a given question (Step 1 in Figure 5-2). The question is repeated and the person must select three terms from the remaining twelve (Step 2), then three from nine (Step 3), then three from six (Step 4), leaving three. Evidence of subjective feelings appears in the pattern that develops.

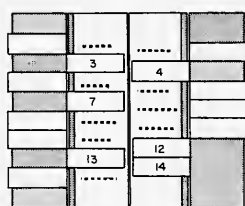
For example, we might be interested in a person's feelings toward his wife and children, or perhaps his mother and father. Under other conditions, more general feelings might be called for.

For the maps we shall presently consider, we limited our treatment to four fairly general areas. These were drawn from the previous discussion of subjective experience, and tend to tap some

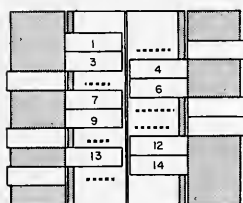
of the more relevant areas of feelings as they reflect emotional threat. They include (1) feelings about one's self in general, (2) wishes and desires, (3) feelings about what ways of life are valuable as means toward happiness and satisfaction, and (4) feelings about other people in general.



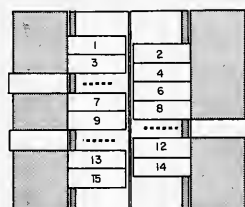
STEP 1



STEP 2



STEP 3



STEP 4

Fig. 5-2. Assessment procedure. (Figure 5-1 continued.)

Twenty sets of fifteen terms each are used to tap these feelings. The first six sets of terms are accompanied by instructions identical with those just described. For the next four sets, the instructions are the same except that the subject selects terms *most* descriptive of himself. For the eleventh set he chooses terms that describe what he would most like to be; for the next set, what he would least like to be. For the next three sets, he describes what a person should be, to be happy and satisfied. For sets sixteen through

eighteen, he chooses the terms that least describe people in general; for the last two sets, the terms that most describe people in general.

Although it is most natural to obtain such feelings from one person at a time, during a session or two in which the person and his administrator sit together, under favorable conditions it is equally possible to obtain these introspections from a group. In this case the sets of terms and the instructions are combined in a booklet to facilitate the inquiry. There is no speaking, and each person works separately on his own booklet.

From this fixed and yet flexible type of inquiry comes the raw data from which the map is drawn. Each term appears on the map in a position determined by when it was selected to answer the particular question. When describing something the most, the first terms chosen reflect the stronger subjective feelings. Those left for the end are less strong in this respect. In this manner each of the terms reflects some relative degree of feeling. There are five such degrees, depending on when the term had been chosen.

For convenience we will refer to these five degrees of feeling, as they appear on the map, by the symbols ++, +, o, —, ——. See Figure 5-3. When a person expresses his feelings by describing something the most, we mark his first three selections ++, the next three +, the next three o, the next three —, and the final three ——. When he describes something the least, the three first selections are marked —, the next three —, the next three o, the next three +, the final three ++. At the ++ position are terms that the person felt to be most closely allied with whatever he was describing (himself, his desires, happiness and satisfaction, other people). When he was selecting most descriptive terms, these were the terms he chose first. When he was selecting least descriptive terms, they were the terms left for the last.

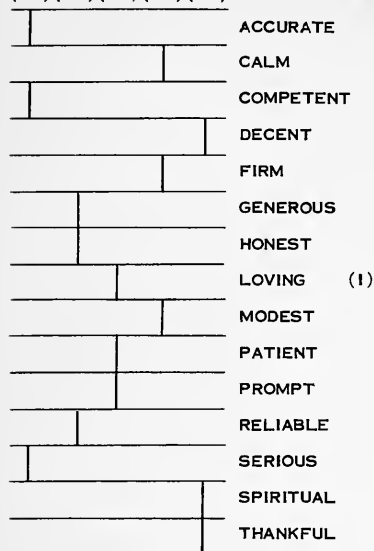
In the same way the + terms are felt to be next most closely allied to whatever was described. The o terms are one step lower. The — terms are felt to be still less closely allied. The —— terms are felt to be the least capable of reflecting his feelings.

One part of the map still needs comment. The terms used in the last five sets to express feelings about people in general were also used in the first ten sets to express feelings about one's self. Taking this into account, it is possible to compare feelings about these two parts of the subjective world. We can note something of how a person feels himself different from others, or others different from himself.

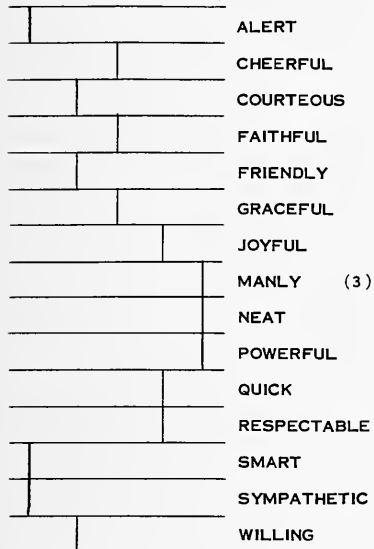
To do this, two marks are made on the map for each of the feelings in the last five sets. The top mark reflects how the term was

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

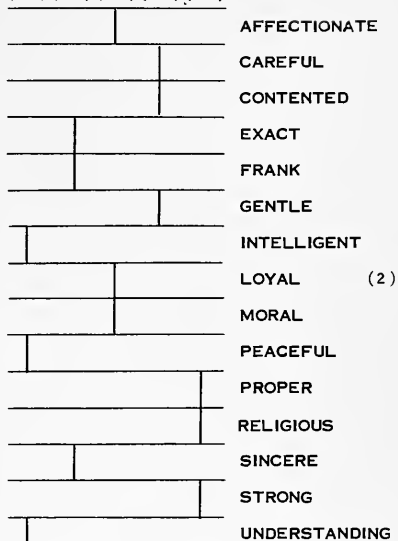
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

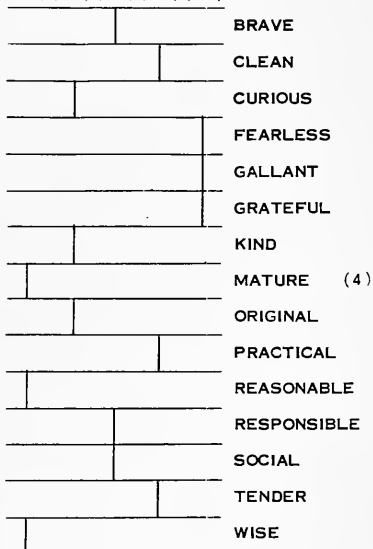
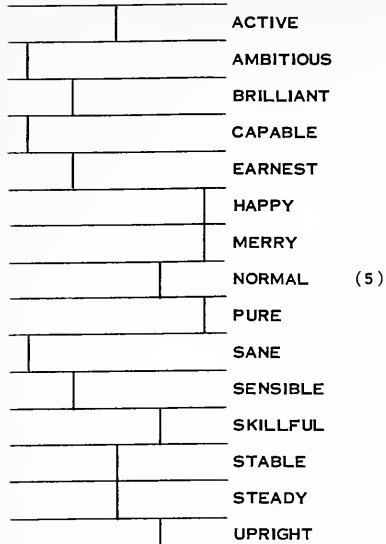


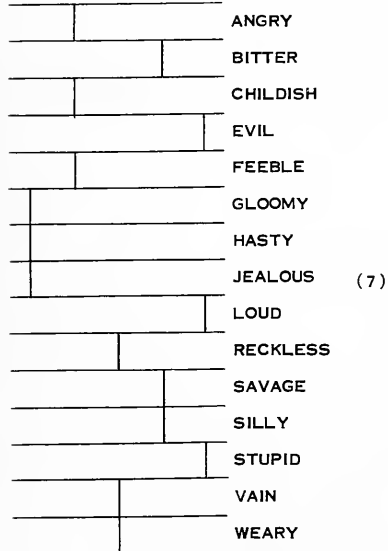
Fig. 5-3. Polydiagnostic profile of Jean.

MAPPING SUBJECTIVE FEELINGS

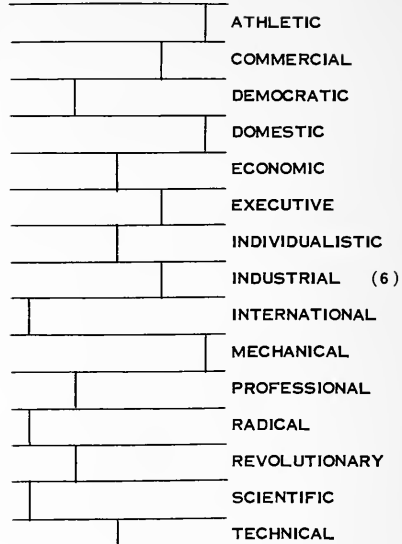
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

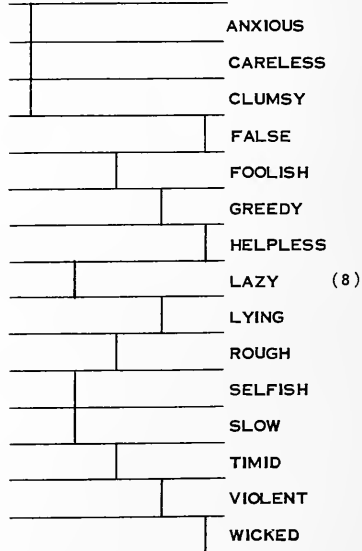


Fig. 5-3 continued.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

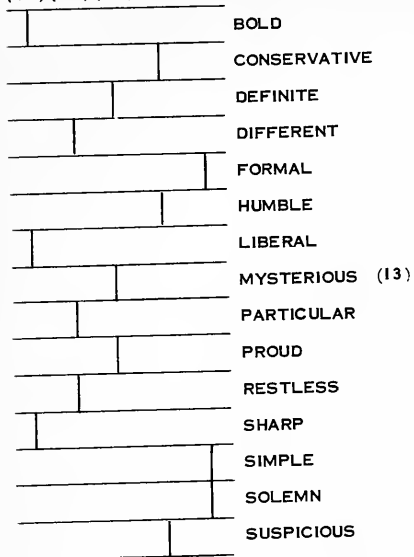
	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

Fig. 5-3 continued.

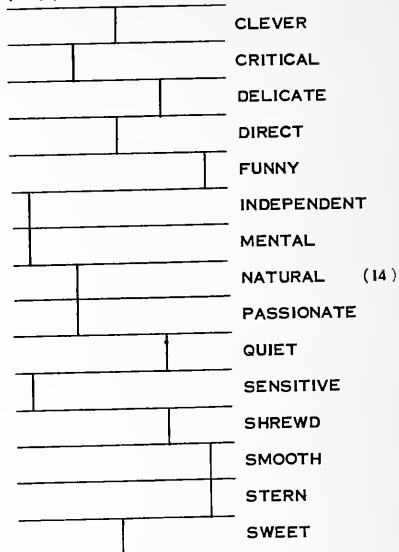
MAPPING SUBJECTIVE FEELINGS

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

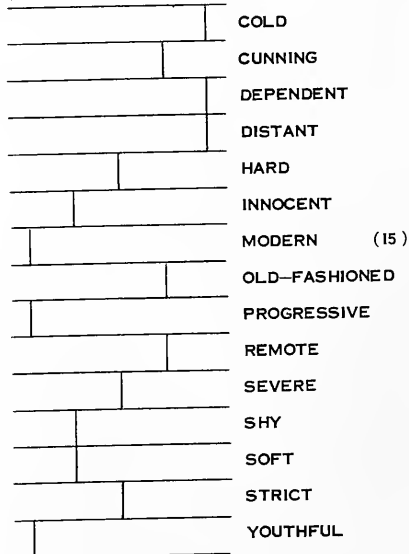
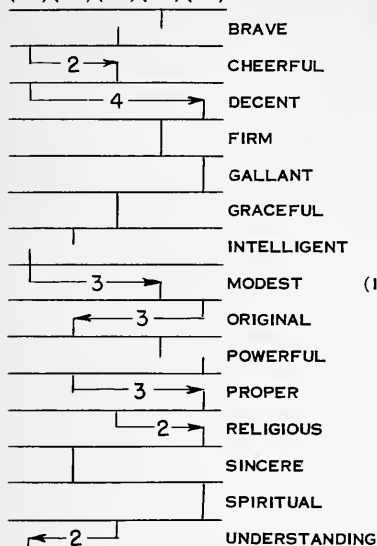


Fig. 5-3 continued.

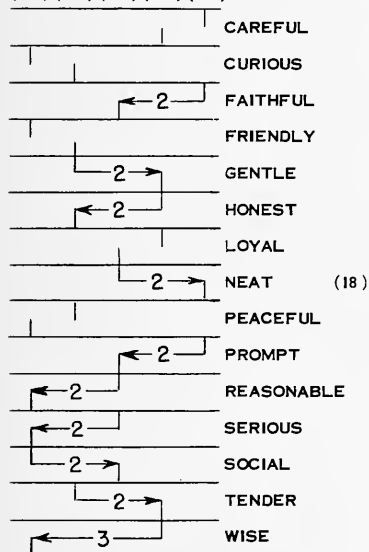
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



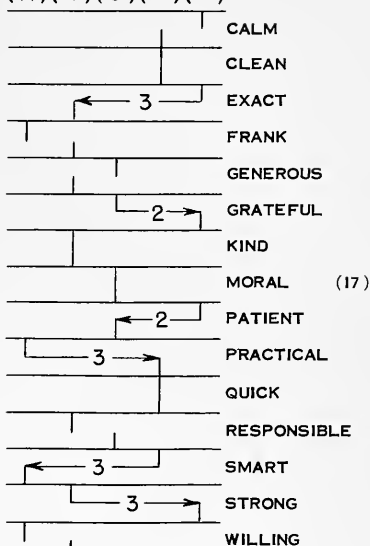
(16)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



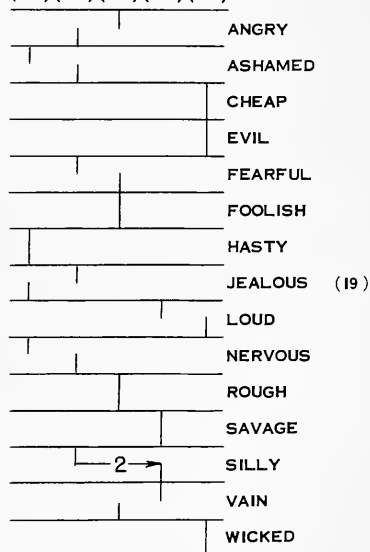
(18)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(17)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(19)

TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL
 BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 5-3 continued.

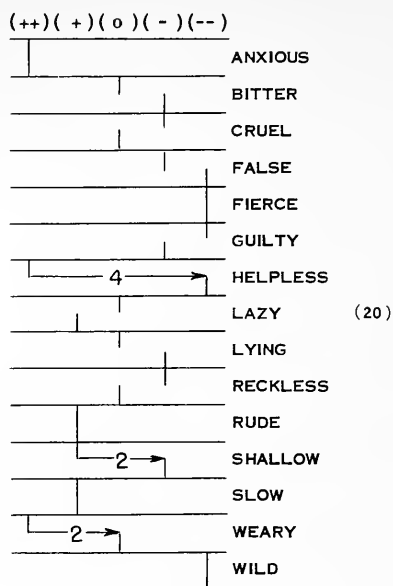


Fig. 5-3 concluded.

actually used to express feelings about people in general. The bottom mark, transferred down from the first ten sets, indicates how the term was previously used to express feelings about one's self. Then, when there is a difference of two or more positions, an arrow shows where and to what extent the person sees himself and others as dissimilar.

This is the map as it appears in Figure 5-3. Knowing the principles by which it was drawn, and the purposes for which it was devised, the next question is one of meaning. It is toward the problems of interpretation that we next turn, before we consider a number of actual cases in which the map was used for diagnostic purposes.

CHAPTER 6

READING THE MAP

Subjective experience introduces two particular challenges. It is complex enough so that it is literally impossible to consider the entire, or even the largest share, of even one man's subjective experience at any one time. Also, much of subjective experience is transient, shifting constantly as a person thinks about different things in different ways, at different times, having discovered new parts of the outside world or having discovered new inside ways of organizing his subjective world.

Because of this, any objective picture of subjective feelings must be interpreted within the limits of a few principles. The most important of these is that any one piece of the picture is open to many different interpretations. As the pieces come together, some of these interpretations are in obvious disagreement; and they can be discarded. As more of the pieces are added, fewer and fewer interpretations are then compatible with all of the evidence. Eventually, if enough parts are available and our knowledge is adequate to the task, we should end with one or, at worst, a limited few interpretations of the available facts.

This is the art of diagnosis. It is the ability to add up symptoms, knowing that each symptom may have many different causes but that the combined pattern of symptoms can be accounted for in only one or a few possible ways. For reasonable success in such an enterprise, it is necessary to recognize what is relevant and what is less so. It is also necessary to discriminate, for any part of the picture, those interpretations that are more important than others. In effect, the more parts we can put together and the better the parts, the more we know about these parts and the more germane our knowledge, the greater the chance that the conclusion will have some meaning and value.

When we interpret expressed feelings for evidence of subjective feelings, we must fall back on our general experience to avoid one major pitfall: we know that all is not what it might first appear to be. This is certainly true in that expressed feelings may mirror

subjective feelings or they may be a distortion of them. One of our first problems comes when we must decide to what extent an expressed feeling may be a mirror image and to what extent it may be a distortion. This is a problem that confronts every scientist who must examine his data for discrepancies, every clinician who must separate symptomatic fact from fiction, every detective who must recognize the true clue as opposed to one that is accidental or planted. In each case, this first problem is solved in the same general manner.

Each new piece of evidence is first assumed to be true or false or a blend of both. Then, as each new piece of the picture is added, one or another of these interpretations is no longer as acceptable as it had been before. When we start, we might assume that a certain expressed feeling is a true image of the subjective state, or that it has been influenced by the need for enhancement on the one hand or the need to repress on the other. But after adding more and more pieces, we find that these take such a form as to disqualify one or another of the previous contentions. If we are to assume that repression is operating in a given area, this should be evidenced by the configuration of pieces. If we are to assume that it is not operating, this also should be evidenced. Somewhere in a pattern of expressed feelings we must seek clues to help us decide not only what the pattern means, but also how much faith and confidence we can place in each part of the pattern itself.

In this respect the interpretation of subjective feelings is a form of psychological diagnosis similar in its key respects to medical diagnosis, criminal detection, scientific synthesis, and any other activity that calls for rigorous inductive reasoning. The difference is that here we are working not with clues to a crime, evidences of a physical phenomenon, or bodily symptoms of a disease. Rather, we are dealing with a person's own expression of his subjective feelings. The goal is psychological, in one rigorous sense of the word. It is to understand the reasoning of the psyche, the working of the mind.

The sheer scope of the problem demands that some limit be placed on any treatment of it. In order to do this, we might first focus on only those portions of subjective experience that reflect reactions to emotional threat—those aspects of the total picture treated earlier. Working from this point, we can further focus our interpretations by using the map as our guide. This means in effect that we further restrict ourselves to considering only those portions of subjective experience tapped by the seven questions and the 300 terms that lead to the forming of the map.

Insecurity, personal inadequacy, and environmental hostility. Using this orientation as a guide, we can first scan the map for signs of discontent, maladjustment, and personality conflict. Six factors are of particular concern: (1) How important is the general need for a feeling of security? (2) How important is the more specific need for a feeling of personal adequacy? (3) How important is the need for a feeling of environmental friendliness? (4) How secure, or insecure, does the person feel? (5) How adequate, or inadequate, does he feel? (6) How friendly, or hostile, does he feel the environment to be?

In these areas, conflict is indicated by a strong need where there is an equally strong feeling of lack. Without a strong need to feel secure, feelings of intense insecurity may have little importance. With a strong need to feel secure, such insecurity feelings may suggest considerable emotional difficulty. A similar situation exists in respect to personal adequacy and environmental friendliness feelings.

There are a number of clues to suggest the general need for security, and the more specific needs for personal adequacy and environmental love. For example, the extent of the desire to be *healthy, rich, safe, or secure* would outline the fairly general security need without a clear-cut delineation of the subordinate needs for adequacy or love. The desire to be *famous, great, important, or successful*, on the one hand, suggests a specific preoccupation with the self, the importance of the self, and the adequacy constellation. On the other hand, the extent of a person's desire to be *loved, lucky, or popular* suggests more of a concern with environmental friendliness, acceptance, and love. (See set 11.)

An intolerance of being *afraid, hungry, lost, poor, or sick* suggests the more diffuse need for a feeling of security, undifferentiated between the self and the environment. The extent of intolerance of being *blind, inferior, lame, or useless* accents the self and the need for adequacy. The intolerance of being *bad, disgusting, lonely, or peculiar* reflects the preoccupation with environmental hostility and rejection, suggesting in turn the need for friendliness. (See set 12.)

Some of a person's more general feeling of personal adequacy is reflected in the extent to which he feels himself *competent, reliable, smart, mature, responsible, ambitious, capable, skillful*, and so forth. Under specific conditions, feeling *manly, powerful, practical, or brilliant* may also reflect feelings of personal adequacy. (See sets 1 through 6.)

In the same sense, feelings of personal inadequacy would appear in part as feelings of being *childish, feeble, stupid, careless, clumsy*,

helpless, shallow, backward, ignorant, or wrong. (See sets 7 through 10.)

Feelings of general security can be expressed specifically as feeling *thankful, cheerful, joyful, grateful, happy, or merry*. In opposition, feeling insecure, one might express feeling *weary, anxious, nervous, desperate, miserable, sad, unhappy, or wretched*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Security may also be evidenced when a person expresses his feeling that other people are *decent, gallant, sincere, frank, grateful, moral, patient, peaceful, or reasonable*. Insecurity, on the other hand, may be reflected by the feeling that others are *angry, evil, wicked, fierce, or rude*. (See sets 16 through 20.)

More specifically, a feeling that the environment is friendly may be seen in the expressed feeling that other people are *understanding, generous, kind, willing, friendly, gentle, loyal, or tender*. In the reverse, feeling that others are *jealous, rough, savage, cruel, false, or lying* would evidence a general feeling of environmental hostility. (See sets 16 through 20.)

The normal process of growing up and being socialized and integrated into the community results in enough frustration and emotional trauma that it is highly unlikely for anyone to feel extremely secure, adequate, or loved. These are ultimate states, much desired but seldom attained. On the other hand, extreme feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, or environmental hostility are far more likely. As roots of major emotional difficulties, they are actually rather common.

In general, then, a consistent suggestion of very high feelings of adequacy, of security, or of environmental friendliness is suspect. It either suggests repressed feelings of a diametrically opposed nature or an undersocialized psychopathic viewpoint. On the other hand, expressed feelings of extreme personal inadequacy, insecurity, or environmental hostility can usually be accepted at face value as rather clear-cut indications of maladjustive tendencies.

Anxiety and anger. Feelings of anxiety and anger appear to be governed by the following subjective orientations: (1) A person rages against his own weakness, inadequacies, and inability to maintain effective social relations. (2) He fears in himself his own antisocial predispositions toward sexual, aggressive, animalistic, or amoral behaviors. He fears his potential to destroy his tenuous relation to a society that is felt to be both powerful and potentially dangerous. (3) He rages against those aspects of his environment that make it necessary for him to fear himself. (4) He fears those

parts of the environment that reject and exclude him, that force him more and more into his introvertive shell.

Answers to three questions are therefore important: First, to what extent does a person feel fear and anger? Second, in what ways are these feelings directed against the self; how much does the person fear or rage against specific characteristics of himself? Third, in what ways are these emotions directed against the social environment; what specifically does the person fear or hate about his society?

Feelings of anger may be expressed as feeling *angry*, *bitter*, *savage*, *fierce*, or *hostile*. The absence of such anger may be expressed by feeling *generous*, *loving*, *gentle*, *peaceful*, *friendly*, *sympathetic*, or *kind*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Feelings of anxiety would tend to appear as feeling *anxious*, *fearful*, or *nervous*. The lack of such anxiety feelings might be expressed as feeling *strong*, *brave*, or *fearless*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Those specific aspects of anxiety and anger that are directed toward the self would be suggested by the expressed feeling *evil*, *reckless*, *false*, *foolish*, *lazy*, *violent*, *wicked*, *ashamed*, *cheap*, *guilty*, *vulgar*, *wild*, *crazy*, *dangerous*, *odd*, or *unwholesome*. Similarly these anxiety and anger feelings are suggested when a person expresses not feeling *decent*, *honest*, *modest*, *patient*, *loyal*, *proper*, *faithful*, *respectable*, *reasonable*, *tender*, *wise*, *sane*, *sensible*, or *stable*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Those aspects of anxiety and anger that are linked to the environment are suggested through the expressed feeling that people in general are *firm*, *powerful*, *smart*, *strong*, *angry*, *rough*, *vain*, *cruel*, or *wild*. On the other hand, the relative lack of these anxiety and anger feelings are suggested by the expressed feeling that others are *graceful*, *modest*, *faithful*, *helpless*, or *weary*. (See sets 16 through 20.)

In the case of anxiety and anger, as with insecurity, personal inadequacy, and environmental hostility, these are emotionally dangerous subjective feelings and are strongly subject to defensive distortion and denial. If a person expresses an extreme freedom from either rage or fear, the possibility of such defensiveness must be considered. Either the extreme expression of these two feelings or the extreme expression of their absence usually results from various states of high anxiety and anger. One would expect a person who feels only a modicum of these emotions to be able to express them with more average intensity. In any case, it is the

specific configuration of expressed feelings that helps determine the nature and extent of distortion when it exists.

Neurotic tendencies. These tendencies appear in patterns of feelings that suggest repressed and restricted, emotionally inhibited self-denial. If, in addition, there is evidence of general insecurity, personal inadequacy, or environmental hostility feelings, combined with an oversocialized conventionality, these neurotic defenses are still further suggested. The specific nature of the defense and some indication of the conflict may also be evidenced.

The tendency toward compulsivity is suggested by the expressed feeling *accurate, firm, prompt, exact, neat, responsible, steady*, or *stubborn*. The absence of such compulsivity is reflected in feeling *hasty, reckless, careless*, or *uncertain*. In general, such compulsive tendencies are reflected in a concern with small details or the accurate and precise performance of social duties. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Neurasthenic tendencies are suggested by feeling *feeble, weary, lazy, slow*, or *dull*. The lack of neurasthenic defense is partially evidenced by feeling *alert, powerful, active*, or *athletic*. In general, neurasthenic tendencies are reflected by feelings that express a tired, listless, and easily worn-out point of view. Sometimes there is an overlay of feeling *delicate* and *spiritual*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Hypochondriac and neurasthenic tendencies often interact. Fatigue and illness are naturally interlaced; fatigue is explained by illness, and illness is explained by the weakness that accompanies fatigue. As a result, similar patterns of feelings sometimes suggest neurasthenia, sometimes hypochondria, sometimes a blend of both. Often the more hypochondriac slanting can be found with the expressed feeling *gloomy, helpless, miserable*, or *wretched*, along with the relative absence of feeling *thankful, strong*, or *cheerful*. (See sets 1 through 10.) Accompanying these feelings is often the combined desire to be *healthy* and the tolerance for being *sick*. (See sets 11 and 12.)

Hysterical conversion tendencies usually are to be found in people who are at the very extreme of social conformity and self-denial. Little short of major personal catastrophe is capable of defending them against their fears. As an outcome, little short of hysterical self-punishment may serve to alleviate their guilt and reduce their anxiety.

The tendency toward hysterical conversion symptoms as a means of defense may be suggested by expressed feelings of being *calm, modest, patient, spiritual, religious, faithful, willing, brave, kind*,

pure, or *upright*. These, in and of themselves, would suggest the strongly society-oriented, self-denying person. However, they would not necessarily suggest the conflict associated with this. If, in addition, the person expresses feeling *evil*, *vain*, *false*, *wicked*, *ashamed*, or *wrong*, then the necessary self-society conflict is also suggested. (See sets 1 through 10.)

One of the most direct means of tapping areas of repression is based on the use of both positive and negative ways of expressing the same subjective feelings. The tendency to repress works to decrease a person's awareness of his own negative characteristic, thus increasing his relative awareness of his positive qualities, true or imagined.

When asked to express himself in purely positive terms, repressed areas can easily move to minimum awareness. There are enough positive terms available so that those that are the direct opposites of repressed negative feelings can be ignored. On the other hand, when forced to describe one's self in purely negative terms, repression operates with much vigor; and thus intense, but repressed, negative feelings are expressed as having only slight intensity or none at all.

For example, assume that a person felt himself intensely stupid but had repressed the feeling. When describing himself in positive terms, he would be inclined not to express feeling extremely *smart* (see set 3). Other attractive feelings being equally available, the repressed feeling of stupidity would operate. But, when asked to describe himself in negative terms, he would also be inclined not to express feeling extremely *stupid* (see set 7). In this case, the repression operates. Nevertheless, the low intensity of the expressed feeling *smart* clues in the existence of the subjective feeling *stupid*, while the low intensity of the expressed feeling *stupid* clues in the existence of the repression.

Projection and introjection are suggested by the differences in the ways people feel about themselves and other people. On the map such differences are evidenced by the arrows which mark the extremes of dissimilarity between sets 1 through 10 and sets 16 through 20. When feeling that one's self has much more of a positive quality than others have, the possibility of introjection is evidenced. When feeling that one's self has much less of a negative quality than others have, the possibility of projection is evidenced.

Again, the probability of any of these possibilities is estimated by the over-all configuration of feelings rather than by one specific piece of isolated evidence. In each case the picture should hang together. When a pattern first appears inconsistent, such incon-

sistencies must be reconciled within the interpretation, or the interpretation is negated by their existence.

Prepsychotic tendencies. When a person has so fully withdrawn from his environment that we can label him psychotic, there is little difficulty in making the diagnosis. The distorted nature of his actions is quite gross and obvious. However, when his defenses are yet small, and have not grown to the proportion that would warrant his being thought psychotic, then the diagnostic problem is far from simple. Nevertheless, for a prepsychotic, on the way but not yet fully developed, an early diagnosis might be the difference between a useful and happy life on the one hand, a mental hospital life on the other. Therefore, the problems of recognizing the subjective feelings of early stage prepsychotics is of concern here.

The key to recognition of the prepsychotic is the knowledge that his defenses are no different in kind from his fully psychotic brethren. They differ only in degree. Those thought patterns that we label manic-depressive, schizophrenic, or paranoid can all be seen in their prepsychotic form, although they are present to a much lesser extent.

A person tells us a little about his prepsychotic tendencies whenever he expresses feelings of social withdrawal and introversion. He adds to this picture when he expresses reduced feelings of contact with others and an increasing indifference to them. Added to this is his increased preoccupation with himself. He may have more insight into his own socially unattractive aspects than one might first imagine.

He expresses feeling not particularly *affectionate, sincere, courteous, sympathetic, gallant, or social*. He feels, on the other hand, rather *jealous, timid, and lonesome*. His increased insight into his antisocial self appears in his feeling *greedy, selfish, or rude*. His deviation from social standards may appear in his feeling *overly curious, original, radical, and revolutionary*. In these, as in other ways, he tells us that he no longer thinks himself much of a socially conforming creature. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Early evidences of depression might also appear at this stage of development. As previously indicated, depression may be the result of either neurotic or psychotic defense. It may also result from realistic tragedy. However, a consistent pattern of deep despondency and inactivity usually suggests a psychotic element. Patterns of this type might include his feeling *gloomy, sad, and unhappy*, and not particularly *joyful, quick, active, happy, merry, or athletic*. These are the clues to his reduced morale and decreased activity. If his pattern also includes intense feelings of personal inadequacy

and feelings of environmental hostility, there is a still further suggestion of his psychotic defense. (See sets 1 through 10.)

When he swings to the opposite extreme, and starts to feel excessive happiness, overwhelming feelings of competence and love, heightened activity, all accompanied by evidence of conflict and stress, there is a pattern that strongly suggests a manic reaction.

In general, it is the pattern, rather than any one or a few specific feelings, that clues in the prepsychotic diagnosis. He feels fear of others, rage for himself. He sees himself rather clearly, others far less so. His feelings reflect more than anything else his preoccupation with himself to the relative exclusion of the outside world.

Ways of coping. Not all subjective experience is unhealthy, of course. The previous material focused on those aspects that are relatively so, but there are others that are not. Rather than defensive thinking, there is thinking designed to truly cope with difficulties, to overcome them and thus reach greater heights of satisfaction. Rather than thinking of ways to keep from feeling frightened, a person often thinks of ways to deal with the things that frighten him.

Each person has his own ways of dealing with difficulties. He has his individuality, his rather unique approach to problems. Many different ways work well, and there are more paths of adjustment than there are paths of maladjustment. Among these more effective ways of coping, as we previously mentioned, are the tendencies to focus, for satisfaction, (1) on people, (2) on things, or (3) on ideas. Treating these three areas in turn, we can judge the extent to which any person is involved with each of these points of view.

To consider a person's involvement in the world of people, social and interpersonal relations, we look for subjective feelings that must involve other people as well as himself. We are interested in whether or not he may feel *firm, generous, loving, patient, affectionate, frank, gentle, loyal, peaceful, sincere, understanding, courteous, faithful, friendly, sympathetic, willing, gallant, grateful, kind, social, tender, executive, jealous, savage, selfish, timid, ashamed, cruel, lonesome, rude, dangerous, or sorry*. (See sets 1 through 10.) We would also want to know how much he desired being *famous, loved, popular, and prominent*. Also, how much he wished to avoid feeling *disgusting, disliked, inferior, lonely, or ugly*. (See sets 11 and 12.)

For involvement with things, we look to evidence of his feelings about nonhuman relations, evidence of his orientation toward in-

animate situations. We would know how much he feels *accurate, prompt, reliable, careful, exact, alert, quick, practical, active, capable, earnest, sensible, skillful, athletic, commercial, domestic, economic, industrial, mechanical, technical, feeble, reckless, careless, clumsy, helpless, lazy, rough, or slow*. (See sets 1 through 10.) This area is also evidenced by how much he desires to be *rich or successful*, how much he would avoid being *poor*. (See sets 11 and 12.)

The focus on ideas is more abstract. It is a focus on those aspects of situations that we may call intellectual, symbolic, mental, or cognitive. It is a focus on concepts that are more qualities than quantities, more connotations than denotations. For example, friendliness is social, exactness is physical, but religiousness is ideological in the sense in which the term is used here.

Looking for evidence of how a person deals with the abstract world of ideas, we seek information about the degree to which he feels *honest, spiritual, thankful, moral, proper, religious, respectable, smart, brave, curious, original, responsible, wise, brilliant, pure, democratic, international, professional, radical, revolutionary, scientific, evil, stupid, foolish, wicked, shallow, stubborn, uncertain, backward, dull, ignorant, or wrong*. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Independent of whether a person is dealing in the world of people, of things, or of ideas, he brings to bear a set of values that must also be understood. His approach to situations is determined to a great extent by what he values as the good ways of obtaining his objectives. He lives according to his belief concerning the best of all possible ways of living.

If we use the earlier discussion of values as a guide, subjective feelings can reflect tendencies toward traditionalism (T), normalcy (N), progressivism (Pr), pragmatism (P), realism (R), conventionalism (C), and opportunism (O).

In Table 6-1 are outlined a number of feelings and their relation to these valued points of view. The appearance of a + on the table indicates that a strong feeling of that specific kind reflects a high inclination toward that particular value orientation. The appearance of a - indicates that a high feeling reflects a low inclination toward the value in question. (See sets 13 through 15.) Again it is important to recognize that a total configuration of feelings is a considerably better gauge for determining a particular value orientation than is any one or a few isolated feelings.

Because it is relatively easy to exert self-control in dealing with things and ideas, but far less so when dealing with people, in interpreting a person's subjective control we tend to depend on

TABLE 6-1
INDICATIONS OF VALUE ORIENTATION

<i>Characteristic</i>	<i>Value Orientation *</i>
13. 1 Bold	+P
13. 2 Conservative	+T
13. 3 Definite	+P
13. 4 Different	-N
13. 5 Formal	+C
13. 6 Humble	+C
13. 7 Liberal	+Pr
13. 8 Mysterious	
13. 9 Particular	+C
13.10 Proud	
13.11 Restless	+Pr
13.12 Sharp	+O
13.13 Simple	+T
13.14 Solemn	
13.15 Suspicious	
14. 1 Clever	+O
14. 2 Critical	+R
14. 3 Delicate	
14. 4 Direct	+R
14. 5 Funny	
14. 6 Independent	
14. 7 Mental	
14. 8 Natural	+R
14. 9 Passionate	+P
14.10 Quiet	
14.11 Sensitive	
14.12 Shrewd	+O
14.13 Smooth	+O
14.14 Stern	+C
14.15 Sweet	+C
15. 1 Cold	
15. 2 Cunning	+O
15. 3 Dependent	
15. 4 Distant	-N
15. 5 Hard	+P
15. 6 Innocent	+C
15. 7 Modern	-T
15. 8 Old-Fashioned	+T
15. 9 Progressive	+Pr
15.10 Remote	
15.11 Severe	
15.12 Shy	
15.13 Soft	-P
15.14 Strict	+C
15.15 Youthful	

* T=Traditionalism
N=Normalcy
Pr=Progressivism
P=Pragmatism
R=Realism
C=Conventionalism
O=Opportunism
+=In the direction of
-=In the opposite direction from

evidence that relates to social situations particularly. Turning toward these social feelings, we seek patterns of overcontrol or hypercompliance on the one hand, undercontrol or aggressiveness on the other hand. If the pattern suggests both strong compliance

and strong aggression, a healthy dynamic balance of cooperation is suggested. If the feelings are all indifferent (neither very controlled nor very uncontrolled) a more static and withdrawn cooperation is suggested.

In Table 6-2 the feelings that are related to control are outlined. Evidence of both aggressiveness and compliance is indicated. (See sets 1 through 10.) In drawing on this table to interpret one part of the map, it is important also to look for evidences at other parts of the map to help defend any rational interpretation. The picture should tend to hold together in most respects.

We can add to this picture one further point. The extent to which a person is influenced by the structure, function, or meaning of a situation may be evidenced on the map. Feeling *accurate, prompt, exact, proper, normal, skillful, commercial, industrial, or mechanical* tends to suggest a structural point of view. Feeling *sensible, economic, executive* is more functional. Feeling *thankful, moral, religious, respectable, pure, or upright* suggests more of a dependency on the meaning of situations. (See sets 1 through 10.)

Therapeutic interpretation. Once on the path of mental illness, it is not always easy to turn around. Defensive thinking makes it hard to cope with problems; professional counsel or psychotherapy is sometimes the only way to shift from inadequate to adequate modes of living. In the hands of a skilled therapist or counselor, an interpretation of the map serves as a stage in the therapeutic or counseling process. With controlled interpretation, and working in conjunction with the person himself, reading the map may act as both a growth and learning experience. It can be, in effect, a new way of looking at one's self.

As previously noted, one factor in the maladjustive cycle is the lack of insight, both into the self and into the society. One stage in psychotherapy, therefore, attempts to increase this limited insight. Through greater awareness of the true picture, the patient can then often work out new modes of action that hold greater promise for good adjustment. Therefore, one use of the map in therapy is as a tool for helping a patient gain insight into his conflicts. As such it can be used in the therapy of both neurotics and prepsychotics, as well as in the guidance and counseling of students and others in need of such assistance.

Used in this way, the map serves as a foundation for discussions between patient and therapist. The patient is encouraged to go over the many responses he has given. He is urged to discuss his reasons for various feelings. He is asked to consider some of the more obvious conflicts in his picture. In each case his map is used

as a starting point from which other therapeutic clarifications and interpretations can grow.

TABLE 6-2
INDICATIONS OF
COMPLIANT AND AGGRESSIVE PREDISPOSITIONS

<i>Characteristic Feeling</i>	<i>Predisposition *</i>	
	When the feeling is high	When the feeling is low
1. 5 Firm	-C	+C
1. 6 Generous	+C	-C
1. 7 Honest	-A	+A
1. 8 Loving	+C	-C
1. 9 Modest	-A	+A
1.10 Patient	+C	+A
2. 1 Affectionate	+C	-C
2. 6 Gentle	+C	+A
2. 8 Loyal	+C	-C
2. 9 Moral	+C	+A
2.10 Peaceful	-A	+A
2.11 Proper	+C	+A
2.15 Understanding	+C	-C
3. 3 Courteous	+C	-C
3.10 Powerful	+A	-A
3.12 Respectable	+C	+A
3.15 Willing	+C	-C
4. 5 Gallant	+C	-C
4. 7 Kind	+C	+A
4.14 Tender	+C	-C
5. 2 Ambitious	+A	-A
6. 6 Executive	+A	+C
6. 7 Individualistic	+A	+C
6.13 Revolutionary	+A	+C
7. 4 Evil	+A	-A
7. 5 Feeble	+C	-C
7.10 Reckless	+A	-A
7.11 Savage	+A	-A
7.14 Vain	+A	+C
8. 6 Greedy	+A	-A
8. 9 Lying	+A	-A
8.11 Selfish	+A	+C
8.13 Timid	+C	+A
8.14 Violent	+A	-A
9. 3 Cruel	+A	-A
9. 5 Fierce	+A	-A
9. 7 Hostile	+A	-A
9.10 Rude	+A	-A
9.12 Stubborn	+A	-A
10. 3 Dangerous	+A	-A

* +C=predisposed toward compliance
 -C=not predisposed toward compliance
 +A=predisposed toward aggression
 -A=not predisposed toward aggression

Part III

Four Inner Worlds

CHAPTER 7

TWO LITTLE GIRLS FROM SCHOOL

Ruth

Ruth was just eighteen years old when she sought psychotherapy. She was an education major at a large New York City college and had just entered her sophomore year. She approached the college psychological clinic in tears, almost begging for help.

At Ruth's first interview she unburdened herself concerning her main difficulties and what she thought to be the causes. Her primary complaints were an inability to sleep, rapid heart beat, dizziness, inability to concentrate, irrational fears, and excessive worrying. She said that she was afraid all of the time but did not really know why. Medical examination had indicated no somatic basis for Ruth's complaints.

Ruth's explanation for her difficulties was her inability to accept the loss of a true love. A boy has rejected her; he no longer dates her, although there had been almost two years of high intimacy. She offers some explanation for her inability to accept the loss of this boy: "It must be some strong physical attraction I cannot control." (Later she tells us that she is not passionate, really not interested in things sexual at all.)

All of our preliminary sessions reflect the same thing: a personality loaded with rationalizations, stereotypes, and inadequate explanations for her own behavior. The pattern is obviously one of extreme withdrawal from self-awareness, a pattern of neurotic refusal to accept the asocial self.

During these early contacts, the following case history material was obtained. It tends to outline the more conscious aspects of Ruth's intense conflict with her own irrational and insistent subjective needs.

Ruth was born and raised in Chicago. She was part of a conservative middle-class urban home with a strong Hebrew tradition. Her father was a small-scale candy distributor. Her mother was a housewife.

Ruth describes her father as a "lively, affectionate, childish extrovert." She sees him as extremely selfish and quick to temper. Her mother she describes as a hard-working, conscientious, quiet

introvert. She feels that her mother tries very hard to be broad-minded and modern, but at heart is a prude.

Her mother is sick much of the time. She suffers from chronic gastrointestinal difficulties requiring a special diet and special care. She also is nervous and regularly uses barbiturates. She is not an invalid, but she actively restricts the family activities. The father has reacted to her illness by going out to the movies, restaurants, hotels by himself. The mother stays home and nurses her ills.

The parents quarrel frequently, usually over little things. These quarrels have bothered Ruth, who sees marriage as more hate than love. Ruth says that she will try to develop a family of her own free of much of this bickering.

Ruth's early developmental history had a few strains in it. She was not nursed. She was toilet-trained (she says, "uneventfully") by fifteen months. She mentioned, just in passing, as if it were unimportant, that she has been told that she had considerable gastrointestinal difficulties for the first year: vomiting, not eating, diarrhea.

At the age of nine, Ruth experienced, as she remembers, her first intense anxiety attack. Previously, however, she had nightmares, threw temper tantrums when frustrated, and feared that her mother was going to die. She would threaten to kill herself if her mother should die. She remembers that she did not want her mother away from her for any length of time.

The primary guide for Ruth's social education was "do what is proper." Her parents stressed the importance of adhering to what they believed to be the moral life. There was little warmth or acceptance in the family group, and by the time Ruth was thirteen, she fairly well rejected both parents at a conscious level. She says that she realized "they weren't the parents for me."

Ruth is an only child. She apparently has been restricted and inhibited from growing into any real independence. She feels that her parents must have a "child around the house." Her parents give advice and guidance for even the smallest of situations, whether Ruth needs such aid or not.

Ruth says that she never really felt that her parents understood her. They expected too much. They pretended to give her responsibility and opportunities to make decisions. These opportunities, she feels, always had strings attached. If she succeeded, they took the credit; if she failed, she took the blame. She seems to feel that both parents cooperated in placing her in this unfortunate situation.

In school Ruth was always above average in scholastic competence. She developed special talents in the areas of mathematics and biology. She says that her motto was, "If you can get along well on little effort, why put a lot of effort in?" She was popular with other girls in high school. She was a leader in many same-sex activities. She seems to feel that her high school life was fairly happy, although she did not have too many dates.

A number of Ruth's immediate conflicts appear to circle around this area of dating, heterosexual relations, and sexual activity. She was apparently given little sexual information by her parents. They did, however, succeed in instilling the feeling that it was not for "nice people." Ruth engaged in masturbation, necking, and petting with only a minimum of anxiety during the early years of adolescence. Within the last two years, however, these sexual activities have intensified.

Her conscious sexual feeling is one of "complying with a boy's desires" so as not to lose his acquaintance and friendship. There is no strong conscious sexual motivation. She says that her attitude toward sex is really quite liberal and nonchalant by comparison to the overly conventional attitude of her parents.

Ruth indicated that her major erotic feelings arise when someone she previously had contact with is dating another person. She feels guilty only when her desire to please a boy drives her beyond her moral limit. She says that she is really not so passionate as she thinks she should be.

She has serious periods of depression, with only a few swings in the opposite direction. Excessive frustration or dissatisfaction make her "moody, sulky, and unhappy." She feels that she attacks only problems she can easily handle and she withdraws from any great competition and challenge. She reacts with hostility and irritability when she is suddenly disturbed. Her attacks on others are verbal, usually fault-finding or threats to another person's feeling of adequacy.

The only time she can concentrate is when she is reading a book that carries her away from reality. She seems to have considerable difficulty in making up her mind about actions to be taken. She vacillates from judgment to judgment, never really accepting any final path of action as adequate. She seeks advice from others in making her decisions. Even with such advice, she hesitates.

Ruth dreams of an ideal future, one in which she lives a suburban life with three children and a loving husband. She thinks that a side career might be "nice."

Ruth appears reasonably secure in her attitude toward her own success, except when it comes to boy-girl relations. In that area there is appreciable apprehension and anticipation of failure.

Ruth's conscious fears almost all revolve around the idea of becoming sick and dying. She fears the possibility of cancer, tuberculosis, and polio. Other than that, she is willing to admit only the fear that boys will not like her and that she is not able to establish adequate and satisfactory heterosexual contacts and relations.

Ruth blames many of her general difficulties on her own laziness, her inability to tolerate frustration, her "great emotional upheavals," her temporary "breakdowns," and her inability to stay by herself in any solitary situation. The sources of difficulty are almost always "inside."

The social world is also a pretty inadequate place. She says that her friends are of no real help, although they are sympathetic enough. There is no one who really understands her. Although the last anxiety attack was related to being rejected by a boy friend whom she felt she loved, and with whom she had been on fairly intimate terms for the previous two years, she says that he is not to blame. The problem is with her. Everything would be all right if she could only overcome her dependency on this boy who is so obviously undependable.

Gradually the pattern of our diagnostic and therapeutic sessions suggested the following. The girl had experienced a series of intense socializing traumas in a family full of internal conflict. The mother showed obvious psychosomatic and neurotic tendencies; the father, in his own way, also appeared overly dependent on social approval and acceptance.

The pattern of family training introduced two strong threats to Ruth's security. There was little or no evidence at home to show her that she would be able to establish adequate social relations. The home itself was uncompromising and unaccepting. The standards of the family introduced moral and ethical requirements beyond her limits and even beyond the customary bounds of the community. In addition, it placed demands on her to succeed, without real rewards for such success.

Ruth grew up unloved and unwanted, used as a tool of her parents' intense need for a dependent, socially proper child. Confronted by adolescent demands for her cooperation, especially sexual cooperation, she complied with appreciable feelings of guilt. Her early socialization helped guarantee that she would have no conscious feelings of a sexual nature. Any relations of this type

would thus degenerate into a form of social compliance, to receive the love she needed so much and failed to get at home. This type of sexual compliance was similar in many respects to her compliance with her rejecting parents.

Ruth thus felt that her boy friends and associates would, much like her parents, also reject her—which they often did. Such rejection then triggered intense feelings of insecurity and feelings of being unloved and unwanted. On the one hand, she was rejected by her overly proper parents and on the other hand by her socially improper (sexually amoral) age-mates. The pattern resulted in her anxiety and anticipation of a meaningless and inadequate future. The dream of the suburban home, three children, and a loving husband was easily shattered by each incident of rejection.

Ruth took the typical pathway of neurotic defense, self-inhibition and withdrawal. She shows no real awareness of the roots of her difficulties. She has no real awareness of her own needs to attack her own parents and those that reject her. She merely feels periods of dark depression, intense guilt, and irrational anxiety.

At the most superficial level, Ruth appears to be a rather nice person who is inconvenienced by having friends who do not understand her and boy friends who cannot see her real worth. If we go a little deeper, however, her conflicts appear to be related to inadequacies in her feelings about herself. Her anxiety is a result of her own inability to deal with difficulties. Her depression is the result of her inability to control her temper. Her failures result from her laziness. Her laziness is the result of her own lack of self-control. It all comes around to the typically neurotic, "they are basically right—I am fundamentally wrong" pattern of withdrawal from self-awareness and self-acceptance.

Ruth's defensive pattern has not developed to the point where excessive compulsiveness, phobic reactions, or conversion symptoms have started to show. The main effects are her tendencies toward neurasthenic fatigue (the laziness) and her hypochondriac fear of disease and death.

Now, if we go below this level to the heart of the matter, to the basic feelings of insecurity, the pattern changes again. It now appears that her most intense feelings are that the environment is unloving, rejecting, and hostile. Ruth wants people to love her, wants it desperately; but she does not know how to win love. She does not really feel that she ever will be loved by anyone.

After a little more than a month of psychotherapy, Ruth's anxiety reactions disappeared, completely but temporarily. There was no real change in her personality structure during this time;

only the most superficial support and interpretation had been attempted. However, as soon as she had adequately regained her composure, she terminated the therapeutic relation.

Nine months later, without appreciable change in the dynamics of her case, Ruth appeared again. At this time we obtained the map of her subjective feelings that appears as Figure 7-1.

The picture as it evolved from the previous interviews was drawn prior to obtaining the pattern of feelings as they appear woven into the map. It is therefore possible to examine the map with some idea of what to look for and also with some opportunity to see how feelings such as Ruth's appear in this form. We could use many viewpoints from which to examine Ruth's picture, but we will restrict ourselves to the ones that most directly touch on the previously discussed case materials.

Ruth shows the fairly typical pattern of socially compliant feelings to be expected from many neurotics. She sees herself as honest ++, decent ++, affectionate ++, generous +, reliable +, loyal +, sincere +, understanding +, faithful +, friendly +, social +, and tender +. Here is a run of terms that characterize one who is good to people, good to the society, compliant, and cooperative with environmental pressures. The pattern is one of overconformity and is carried further in that she does not consider herself evil —, false —, wicked —, cheap —, lying —, rude —, or vulgar —.

This is much the subjective framework of a girl who feels that she is truly "love-worthy." She feels that she has developed all of the socially proper talents of cooperation. She feels that she can be of considerable advantage to others.

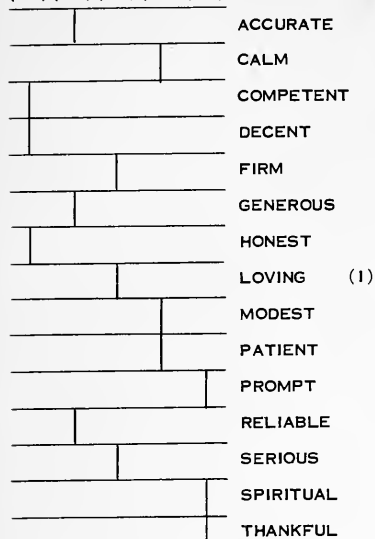
Such feelings of social worth are further enhanced by her feeling of extreme intellectual competence. Apparently Ruth has need to conceive of herself as meeting the highest of standards. She feels competent ++, intelligent ++, alert ++, quick ++, smart ++, curious ++, original ++, practical ++, capable ++, earnest ++, accurate +, responsible +, skillful +, professional +, and scientific +. She is not stupid — or shallow —, slow —, backward —, or ignorant —.

From such clusters we can assume that Ruth is extremely focused on thinking and acting adequately. She has developed the need and probably the talents that would permit her to meet the "great expectations" of her ambitious parents.

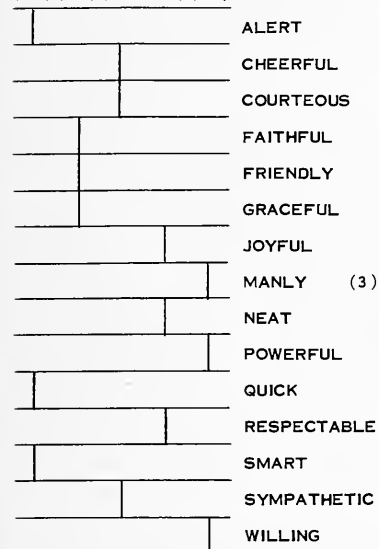
But there is still the strong undercurrent of felt insecurity. She indicates that she feels very unhappy ++, and lonesome +. She does not feel either contented — or stable —, calm —, peace-

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

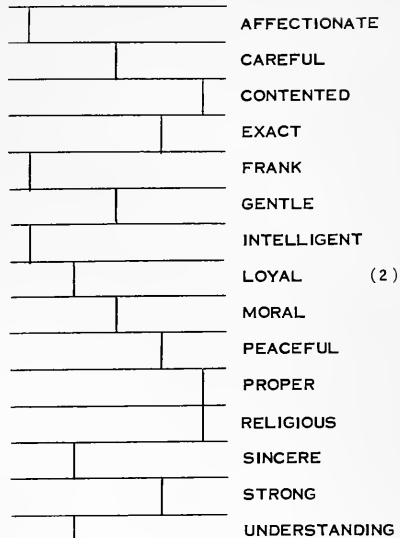
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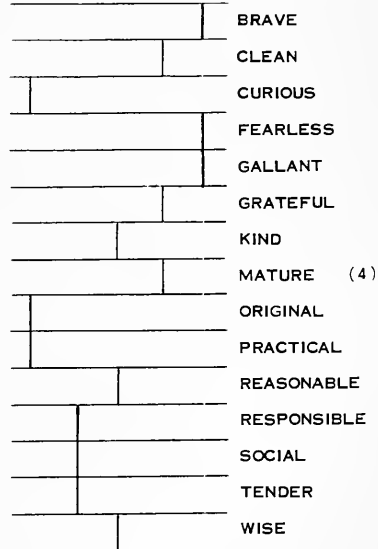


Fig. 7-1. Polydiagnostic profile of Ruth.

FOUR INNER WORLDS

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ACTIVE	
	AMBITIOUS	
	BRILLIANT	
	CAPABLE	
	EARNEST	
	HAPPY	
	MERRY	
	NORMAL	(5)
	PURE	
	SANE	
	SENSIBLE	
	SKILLFUL	
	STABLE	
	STEADY	
	UPRIGHT	

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANGRY	
	BITTER	
	CHILDISH	
	EVIL	
	FEEBLE	
	GLOOMY	
	HASTY	
	JEALOUS	(7)
	LOUD	
	RECKLESS	
	SAVAGE	
	SILLY	
	STUPID	
	VAIN	
	WEARY	

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ATHLETIC	
	COMMERCIAL	
	DEMOCRATIC	
	DOMESTIC	
	ECONOMIC	
	EXECUTIVE	
	INDIVIDUALISTIC	
	INDUSTRIAL	(6)
	INTERNATIONAL	
	MECHANICAL	
	PROFESSIONAL	
	RADICAL	
	REVOLUTIONARY	
	SCIENTIFIC	
	TECHNICAL	

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANXIOUS	
	CARELESS	
	CLUMSY	
	FALSE	
	FOOLISH	
	GREEDY	
	HELPLESS	
	LAZY	(8)
	LYING	
	ROUGH	
	SELFISH	
	SLOW	
	TIMID	
	VIOLENT	
	WICKED	

Fig. 7-1 continued.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

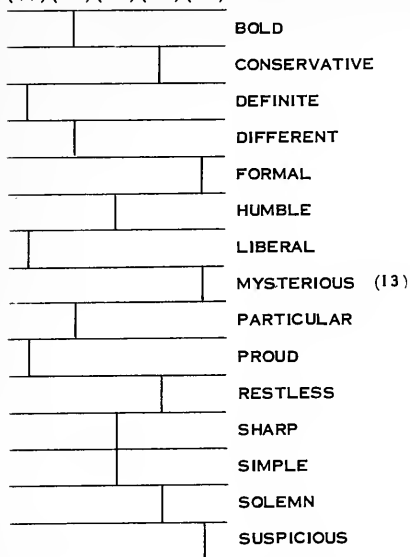
	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

Fig. 7-1 continued.

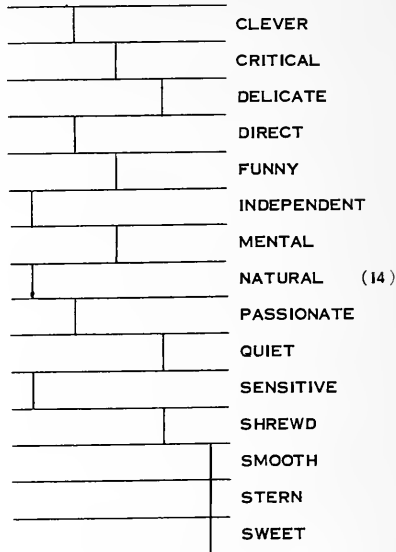
FOUR INNER WORLDS

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

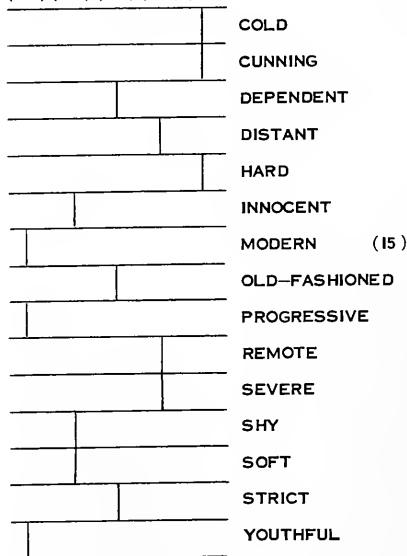
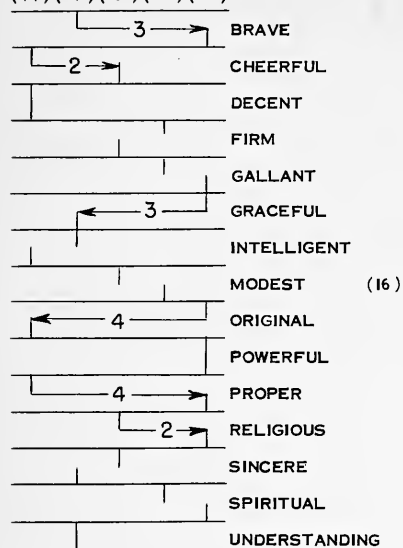


Fig. 7-1 continued.

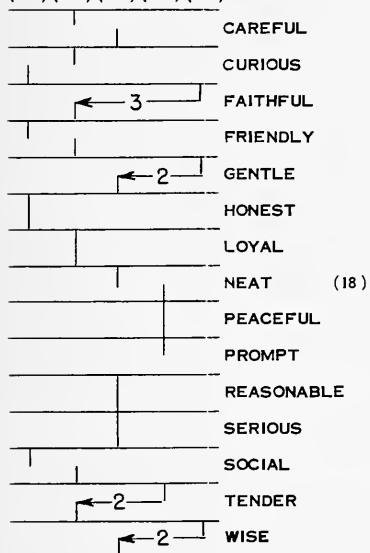
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



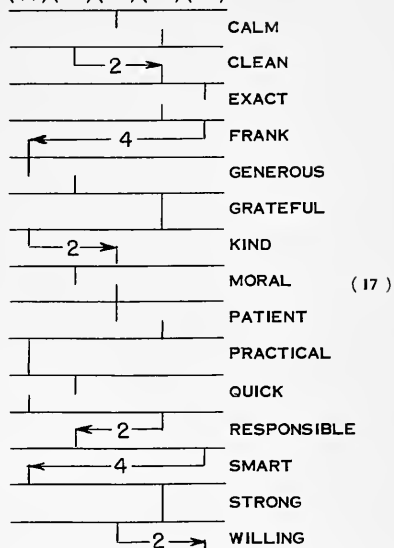
(16)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



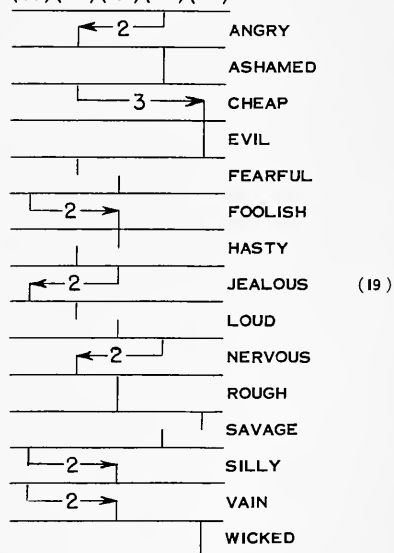
(18)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(17)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(19)

TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL
 BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 7-1 continued.

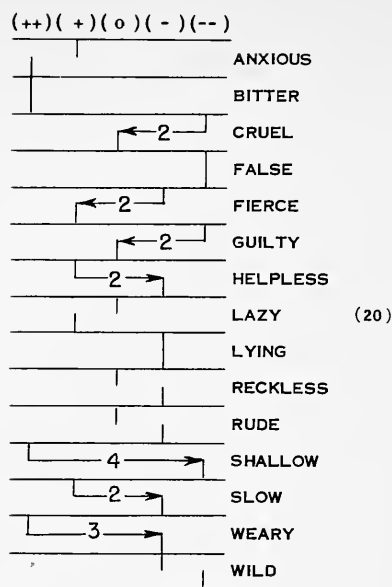


Fig. 7-1 concluded.

ful —, joyful —, or merry —. The picture is certainly not a pleasant one.

The channeling of insecurity into anxiety and depression is clear. Ruth feels anxious ++, uncertain ++, and nervous +. She does not feel very powerful —, brave —, or fearless —. On the side of depression, she feels miserable ++, sad ++, gloomy +, and wretched +. But the pattern is by no means extreme. She does not feel desperate — or feeble —, helpless — or weary —.

The most noticeable portion of her self associations is related to her rage. Ruth indicates feelings of being bitter ++, jealous ++, selfish ++, hostile ++, stubborn ++, angry +, greedy +, violent +, and fierce +. She is by no means thankful —. This strong flow of angry feelings suggests one of the key roots of Ruth's emotional conflict. Her hatred of society and its restrictions is a natural part of her neurotic defense. In this case the rage appears quite strong.

Such feelings cannot go unpunished in an oversocialized person. However, the expected guilt associations are not really strong in this case. She does feel sorry + and unwholesome +, but not ashamed —.

This overcontrolled girl shows other signs of her struggle. She reports deep feelings of immorality, impropriety, and personal inadequacy. She feels childish ++ and careless ++, hasty + and

lazy +. She does not feel proper —, modest —, patient —, neat —, respectable —, or clean —.

Ruth appears low in areas that might reflect a prepsychotic separation from the environment. She does not feel dangerous —, wild —, or crazy —, radical —, revolutionary —, reckless —, or mad —.

The structure of her needs suggests more of her conflict. Ruth feels reasonably adequate although angry with her environment. But this is of poor value when we see that her greatest desires are for environmental acceptance and not adequacy-focused success. She would be loved ++ and secure ++, safe +, lucky +, and prominent +. It is not important to be great —, famous —, important —, or rich —.

The remainder of her pattern of needs suggests some of her hypochondriac preoccupation with bodily needs and functions. The most intolerable states relate to being hungry —, blind —, sick —, lame —, and poor —. This also includes the socially dependent lonely —.

Ruth's associations with happiness and satisfaction suggest a certain rebellion against apparently unsatisfying social pressures. One should be liberal ++, modern ++, progressive ++, and different +. Such a break from tradition must be done somewhat forcibly. One should be definite ++, independent ++, bold +, passionate +, clever +, and direct +. This is in direct conflict with an opposing aspect of Ruth's values that advocates being natural ++ and sensitive ++, innocent +, shy +, and soft +.

On the one hand, we have the value system of a person who has found her environment punishing and dangerous. It is a value system that advocates fighting back against much of what society stands for. The second facet is more feminine, more related to compliance and gaining social love through such compliance. The two do not integrate easily.

The negative half of the value system helps accent Ruth's strong neurotic tendencies. One should not be mysterious —, suspicious —, cold —, cunning —, hard —, remote —, distant —, or shrewd —. These are modes of adjustment that might be acceptable to a prepsychotic but hardly to a girl overly integrated in her culture.

Ruth's feelings about people in general are fairly socially proper. People are most decent ++, generous ++, kind ++, proper ++, practical ++, honest ++, friendly ++, and social ++. They are understanding +, clean +, and moral +. They are not evil —, savage —, wicked —, cruel —, or false —.

But, if we consider the less attractive aspects of her feelings about the environment, people become vain ++, shallow ++, and bitter ++. They are cheap +, loud +, and slow +. They are not frank —, faithful —, gentle —, wise —, gallant —, grateful —, responsible —, peaceful —, or tender —.

There are a few noticeable areas of conflict in these two pictures of other people. Of special importance are the items that relate to how people in general deal with people in general. People are decent ++, generous ++, and kind ++, but are not frank —, faithful —, or gentle —. They are understanding +, but not grateful —, peaceful —, or tender —. These associations suggest that Ruth has not quite made up her mind about whether her environment can be trusted.

When comparing Ruth's feelings about herself with her feelings about other people, the following appears.

By comparison to other people, she feels herself to be extremely (4 score points difference) more original, frank, and smart, and less proper and less shallow. To a lesser extent (3 points difference) she feels more graceful and faithful, less brave, cheap, and weary.

She feels herself more (2 points difference) gentle and tender; but also more angry, jealous, cruel, and fierce, more nervous and guilty. She feels herself less cheerful, religious, clean, kind, and willing; but less foolish, silly, and vain, also less helpless and slow.

The same pattern appears here as previously. She is angry and hostile; the environment is neither very compliant nor cooperative. She is more intelligent but more nervous, guilty, and improper.

On the basis of the pattern of subjective feelings, a reasonably favorable prognosis can be made. There is enough strength in her feelings about herself, enough friendship in her feelings about others, to suggest that psychotherapy could be successful. If environmental pressures were to reduce, Ruth might maintain her stability for long periods without aid. Under conditions of stress she will probably show the states of anxiety and depression seen previously. Most likely her pattern of defenses will move in the direction of increased hypochondriasis and psychosomatic handicap as learned from her mother.

Phyllis

Phyllis was a twenty-two-year-old graduate student in clinical psychology at a large eastern university. Briefly she showed the following rather outstanding characteristics.

Her intellectual approach to academic and other materials was at a metaphysical level, free of almost any form of concrete reference. She was extremely abstract in her thinking, often vague. She was seldom willing either to contact the more concrete ideas of others or to adequately communicate her own abstract ideas.

Socially she had few, if any, friends. Her range of associates was limited, and she spent the majority of her time with older or younger relatives. She was demanding of time, especially time to talk about her pet theories on the philosophy and metaphysical nature of man. Her needs to dominate and persuade were large.

Economically she was dependent on her father, although she did not live at home all of the time. She was seldom in economic need.

Her activity level was extremely high. She moved from area to area, job to job, idea to idea, staying with no one very long.

Professionally she was incapable of dealing with the empirical aspect of her training. She would deal with all problems in terms of abstract concepts, often using the more generalized theories of lesser-known social philosophers.

At the time of diagnosis her faculty was considering terminating her training and suggesting psychotherapy. On the basis of the diagnosis her training was suspended and therapy was suggested. She left school but did not enter into therapy. When last heard from, she was doing psychometric work at a state mental institution.

The diagnosis was one of simple hypermanic withdrawal from social reality. A weak ego structure apparently resulted from prolonged familial conflict and rejection. Conflicts over peer rejection in adolescence appear to have channeled her to seek gratification through fantasy and the intensive reading of abstract literature. The result was a prolonged period of minimum contact with things social. Her apparently weakened self-concept resulted in manic phases as a mechanism for the symbolic recovery of love and acceptance.

The central factor in the diagnosis is her intense feelings of being socially rejected and misunderstood. This is apparently combined with feelings of personal inadequacy in the areas of physical attractiveness, social gregariousness, and the intellectual ability to handle tangible things and concrete concepts.

The diagnosis was based on contact with the subject, prolonged psychometric study, case history material, and interviews. It was made without considering the map of subjective feelings. As a result, it is possible to consider the map in comparison with an independent judgment of the case.

Figure 7-2 outlines Phyllis's subjective feelings.

FOUR INNER WORLDS

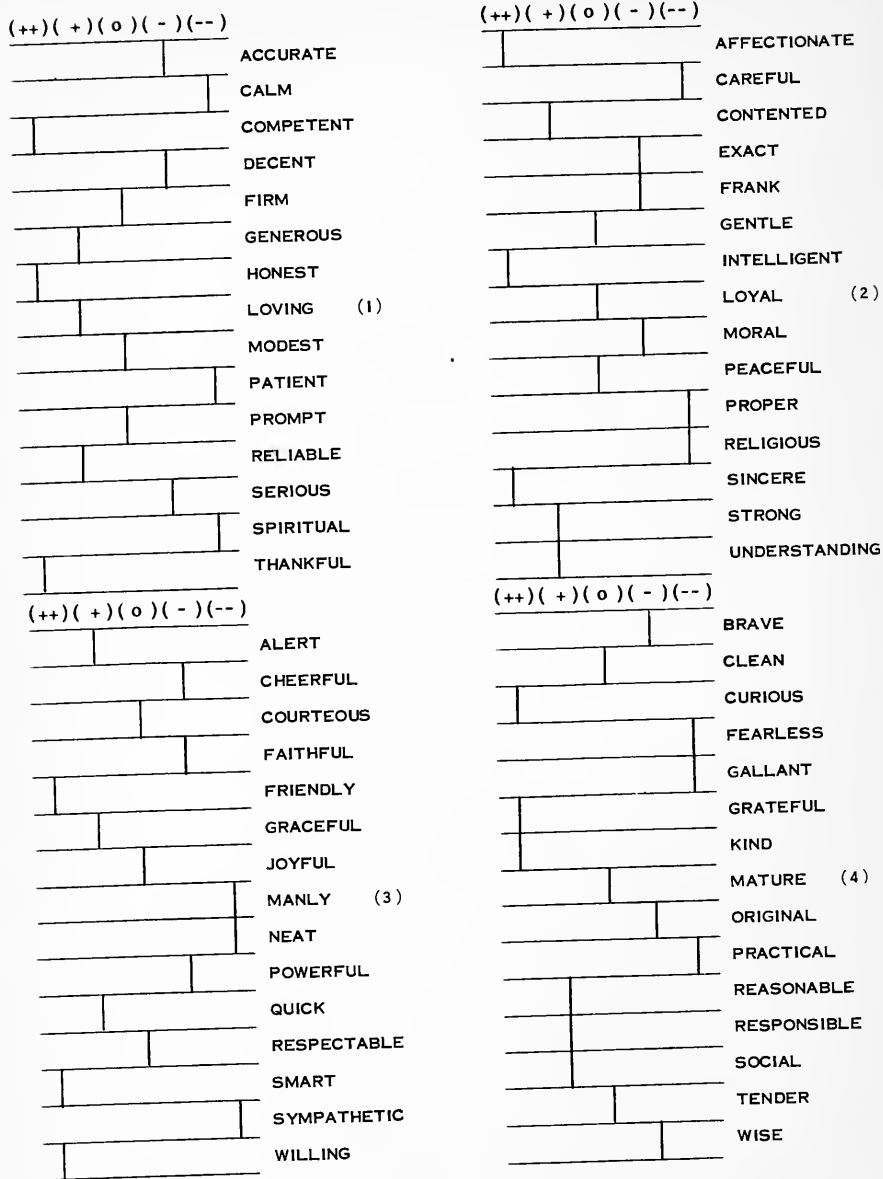
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 7-2. Polydiagnostic profile of Phyllis.

(++) (+) (0) (-) (--)

	ACTIVE
	AMBITIOUS
	BRILLIANT
	CAPABLE
	EARNEST
	HAPPY
	MERRY
	NORMAL (5)
	PURE
	SANE
	SENSIBLE
	SKILLFUL
	STABLE
	STEADY
	UPRIGHT

(++) (+) (0) (-) (--)

	ANGRY
	BITTER
	CHILDISH
	EVIL
	FEEBLE
	GLOOMY
	HASTY
	JEALOUS (7)
	LOUD
	RECKLESS
	SAVAGE
	SILLY
	STUPID
	VAIN
	WEARY

(++) (+) (0) (-) (--)

	ATHLETIC
	COMMERCIAL
	DEMOCRATIC
	DOMESTIC
	ECONOMIC
	EXECUTIVE
	INDIVIDUALISTIC
	INDUSTRIAL (6)
	INTERNATIONAL
	MECHANICAL
	PROFESSIONAL
	RADICAL
	REVOLUTIONARY
	SCIENTIFIC
	TECHNICAL

(++) (+) (0) (-) (--)

	ANXIOUS
	CARELESS
	CLUMSY
	FALSE
	FOOLISH
	GREEDY
	HELPLESS
	LAZY (8)
	LYING
	ROUGH
	SELFISH
	SLOW
	TIMID
	VIOLENT
	WICKED

Fig. 7-2 continued.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

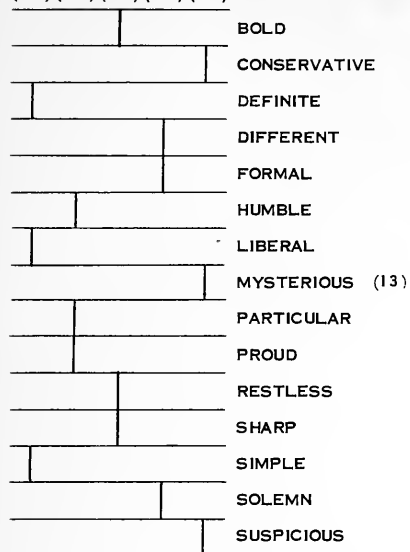
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

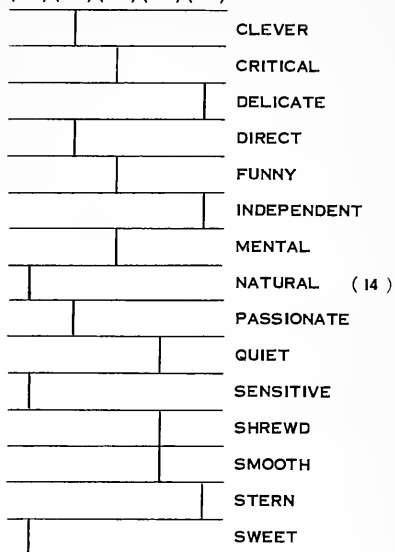
Fig. 7-2 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

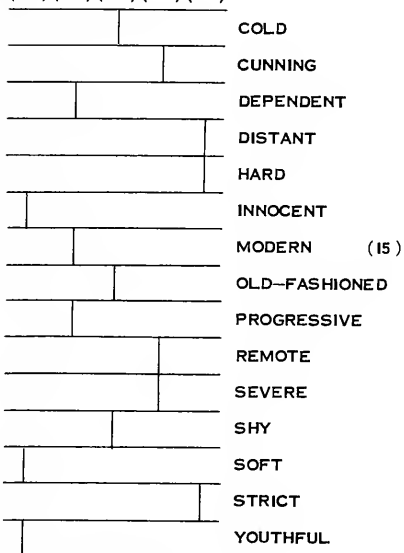
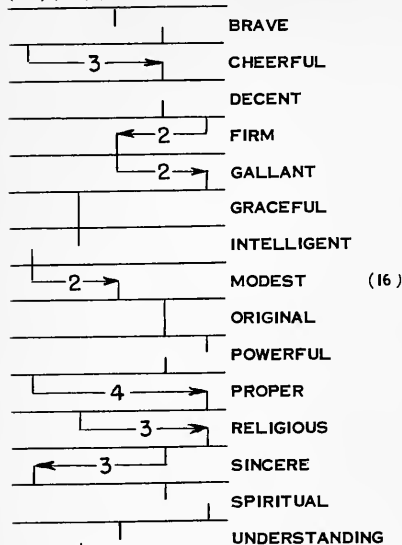


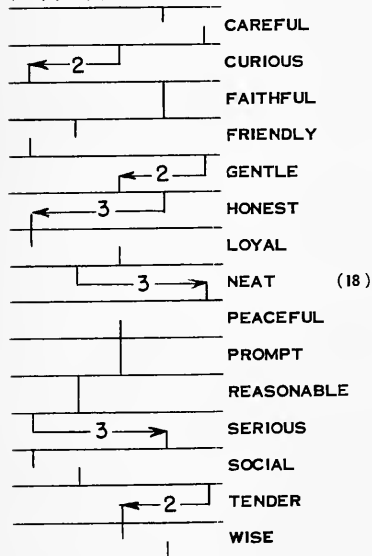
Fig. 7-2 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

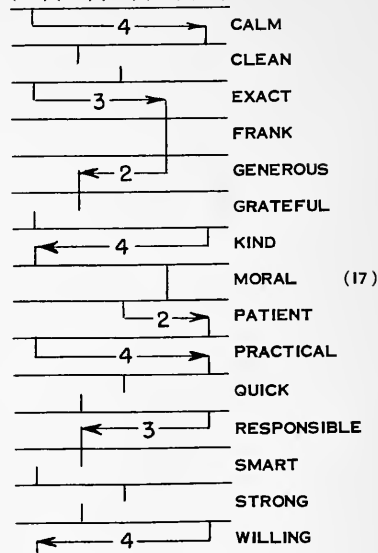
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



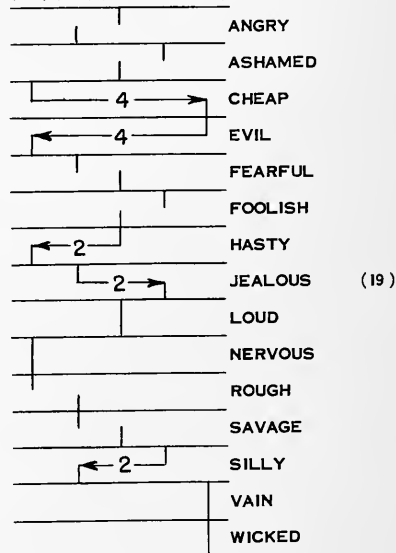
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.
BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 7-2 continued.

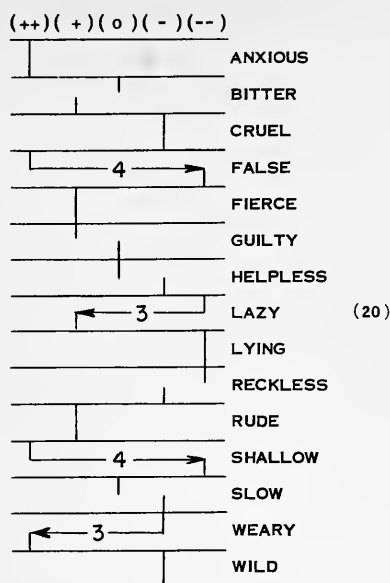


Fig. 7-2 concluded.

From a clinical viewpoint the map discloses, first, a strong overload of anxiety. Second, and more striking, there is the feeling of intense rage, especially including much socially improper and guilt-instigating hostility. Third, there is the feeling of unhappiness combined with a part of its source, loneliness. Phyllis feels herself to be anxious ++, nervous ++, evil ++, violent ++, weary ++, sorry ++, wrong ++, uncertain ++, lonesome ++, unhappy ++, angry +, rough +, fierce +, bitter +, dangerous +, stubborn +, and miserable +.

When we compare this to her not feeling vain —, false —, lying —, wicked —, cheap —, shallow —, vulgar —, dull —, jealous —, stupid —, clumsy —, helpless —, slow —, or cruel —, we see a pattern in which any personal feelings of inadequacy and social incompetence are almost completely hidden. Phyllis seems to see herself as free of most of the unattractive qualities of behavior while she is saddled with all of the unattractive feelings. The key here is that she feels potentially bad but acts most correctly.

She seems most willing, if not eager, to go along with people. She feels herself affectionate ++, friendly ++, willing ++, and kind ++. But at the same time this cooperation does not seem quite possible; there is a lack of the necessary social skills such as patience and sympathy. She feels herself not calm —, patient —, care-

ful —, proper —, neat —, sympathetic —, gallant —, or practical —.

At an overt level there would appear to be a solid self concept. She expresses feeling competent ++, smart ++, capable ++, skillful ++, and professional ++. This overt expression is perhaps too good to be true, when seen in the reflection of her feeling herself not patient —, careful —, practical —, accurate —, serious —, powerful —, sensible —, original —, or wise —. This would suggest that there is a superficial feeling of the self as adequate with no real emotional evidence of such adequacy. The blend suggests much of the common pseudo-felt-adequacy so characteristic of the manic state.

Let us turn now to Phyllis's motive system. It is all right to be unpopular and disliked. It is not good to be unloved or lonely. This seems like a difficult problem to reconcile since it again suggests the need for an inner feeling without a willingness to recognize the social nature of the feeling. Other people can dislike me, but I still want to feel loved—again a pattern suggesting withdrawal from the environment. Here also is the evidence of her intolerance for insecurity (++ need for security) and anxiety (— wish not to be afraid).

Her value system suggests that happiness and satisfaction come from ways that suggest a weak self, not too well equipped to deal with a dangerous environment. One should be simple ++, natural ++, sensitive ++, sweet ++, innocent ++, soft ++, and not hard —, distant —, stern —, or independent —. There are few protections against attack in such a value system.

The environment is seen as being most of the things that suggest social control and social propriety: calm ++, exact ++, modest ++, proper ++, serious ++, social ++, practical ++. It is also religious +, clean +, neat +, reasonable +.

On the other hand, the environment is anything but good when it comes to interpersonal relations. Now the environment is seen as not decent —, willing —, gentle —, peaceful —, or tender —, and not sincere —, generous —, moral —, faithful —, honest —. Supporting this picture is one of the environment as rough ++, cheap ++, false ++, and shallow ++. Hardly an environment a natural and sensitive person could deal with.

The picture of the environment appears to be consistent in this one important segment. People tend to have nice qualities of self; they tend to have the necessary social competences. But when it comes to dealing with other people, people in general are nasty. This is a pattern most characteristic of what we might expect from

someone who uses social withdrawal as a mechanism of defense: the environment is to be feared.

The final analysis considers the differences in self and society feelings. Seven such feelings stand out as extreme, with Phyllis at one extreme, the environment at the other, four units separating the two. The self is much more kind and more evil, less proper, practical, cheap, false, and shallow than is the general environment. We can combine this with associations of lesser difference, three points apart; the self is more sincere, responsible, honest, lazy, and weary, less cheerful, religious, exact, neat, serious than the environment. Again the self is placed in a pleasing but unhappy light with the environment again the villain. But again there is the striking attack on the self: "I am evil; they are not."

The map appears to suggest many of the factors that might be necessary in psychotherapy with a case such as this. First, there is the need for clarification of her perception of the environment in two general areas; people are not so nasty as she feels, also not so perfect in nonsocial areas. Second, her self concept is in need of clarification in the area of anger. Phyllis's extremely violent hatreds appear open to revision. Of importance also are her feelings of being wrong, sorry, and especially evil. The intense feeling of loneliness and of being unloved, combined with the need for love and the fear of loneliness, especially since the subject is a girl, might be considered. Any clarification of what roles she must play to gain this much-needed social contact and affection also appears warranted.

CHAPTER 8

SEARCH FOR A PLACE IN THE SUN

Janet

Janet had just graduated as a sociology major from a small New York State college. She had superior grades and was on the dean's honor list for five out of her eight terms.

Janet was from a relatively poor but proper home. She was a quiet, hard-working, studious person. She made friends with a small circle of other girls. Otherwise she was relatively withdrawing, although not to an extreme. She was not physically attractive and had few dates.

Janet felt that she was not equipped with any of the social or personal skills that would permit her to enter adult life at any but the lowest level. She was considering graduate work as a means of avoiding the problem of making a life for herself, but she did not have either the finances or the conviction that it would leave her in any way better off than she was at the moment.

Janet turned to a psychologist for advice. She came with a request for what she called "testing." What she really wanted to know was "What am I? What kind of life might I make for myself? In which direction does my future lie?" She was neither maladjusted nor emotionally disturbed. She was, quite literally, lost.

Before one could help her find herself, it was necessary to ask first: what kind of person is this girl who comes for help, who cannot find her way alone? To help in answering this question, a number of diagnostic aids were employed; and the results of their use are included in the Appendix (page 239). As one of these windows into her subjective world, her feelings were mapped as in Figure 8-1.

Janet feels emotionally close to other people. She thinks of herself as loving ++, affectionate ++, understanding ++, sympathetic ++, and democratic ++. She also feels generous +, patient +, sincere +, friendly +, kind +. This is an intensive clustering of associations suggesting, "I like people for what they are."

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

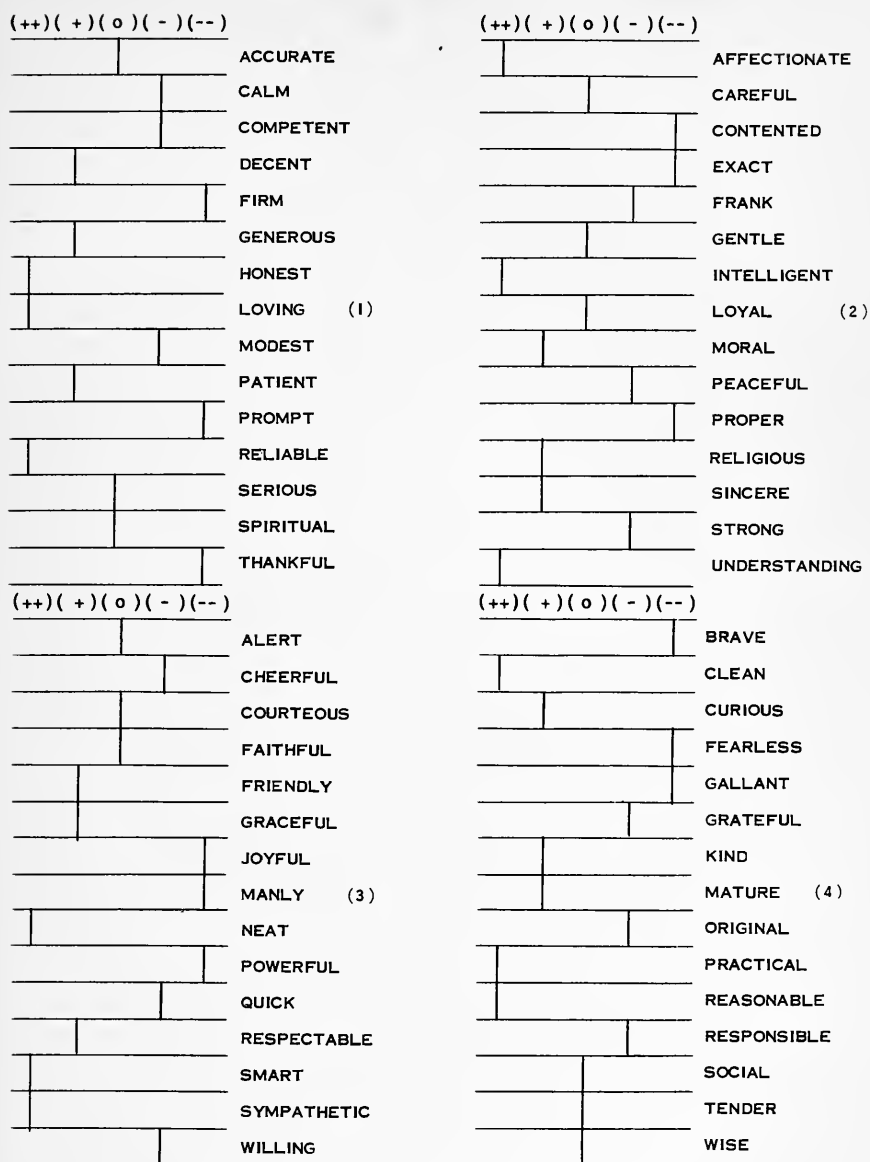


Fig. 8-1. Polydiagnostic profile of Janet.

FOUR INNER WORLDS

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ACTIVE
	AMBITIOUS
	BRILLIANT
	CAPABLE
	EARNEST
	HAPPY
	MERRY
	NORMAL (5)
	PURE
	SANE
	SENSIBLE
	SKILLFUL
	STABLE
	STEADY
	UPRIGHT

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANGRY
	BITTER
	CHILDISH
	EVIL
	FEEBLE
	GLOOMY
	HASTY
	JEALOUS (7)
	LOUD
	RECKLESS
	SAVAGE
	SILLY
	STUPID
	VAIN
	WEARY

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ATHLETIC
	COMMERCIAL
	DEMOCRATIC
	DOMESTIC
	ECONOMIC
	EXECUTIVE
	INDIVIDUALISTIC
	INDUSTRIAL (6)
	INTERNATIONAL
	MECHANICAL
	PROFESSIONAL
	RADICAL
	REVOLUTIONARY
	SCIENTIFIC
	TECHNICAL

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANXIOUS
	CARELESS
	CLUMSY
	FALSE
	FOOLISH
	GREEDY
	HELPLESS
	LAZY (8)
	LYING
	ROUGH
	SELFISH
	SLOW
	TIMID
	VIOLENT
	WICKED

Fig. 8-1 continued.

(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)

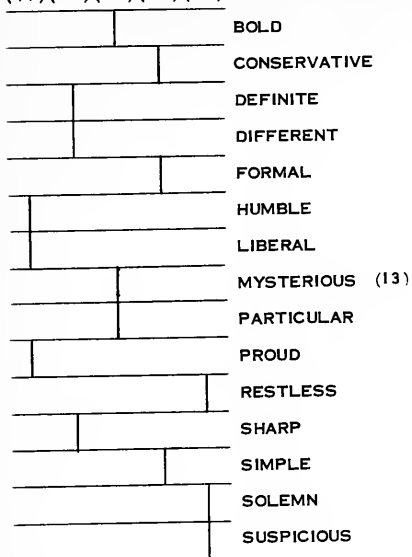
	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

Fig. 8-1 continued.

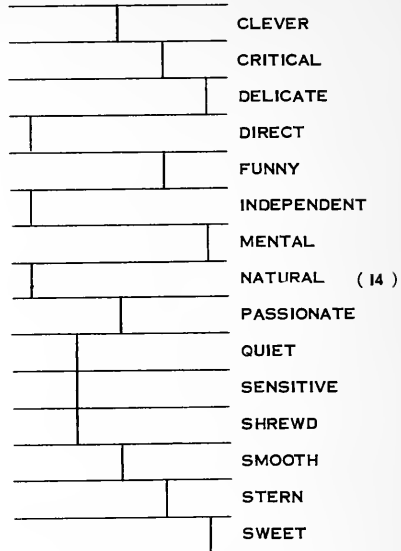
FOUR INNER WORLDS

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

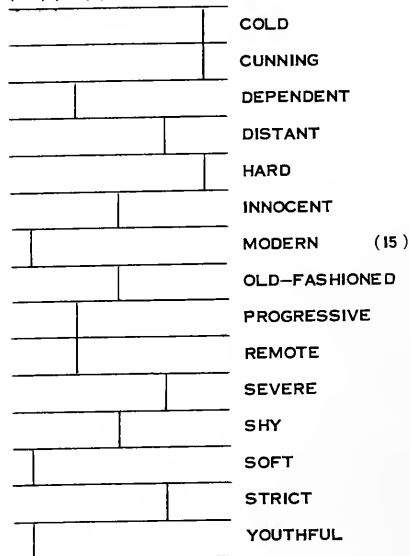
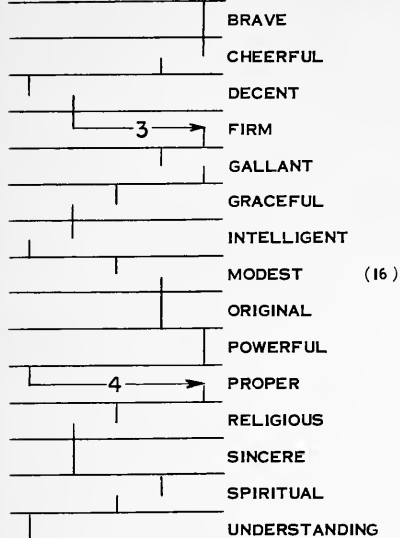


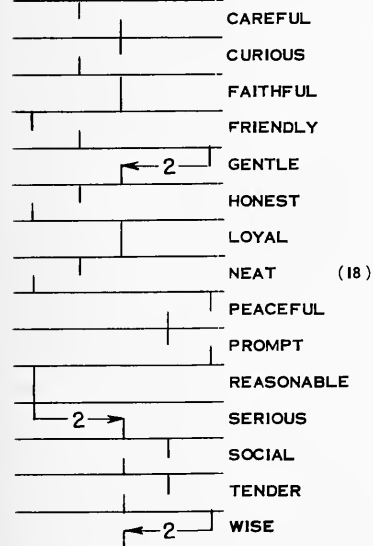
Fig. 8-1 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

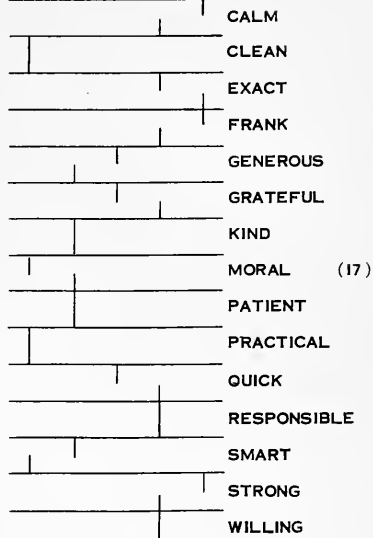
(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)



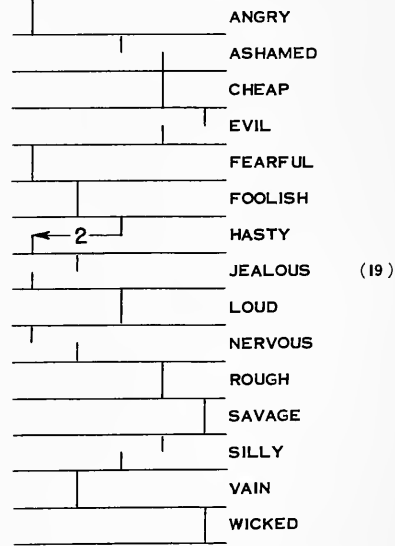
(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)



(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)



(++)(+)(o)(-)(--)



TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL
BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 8-1 continued.

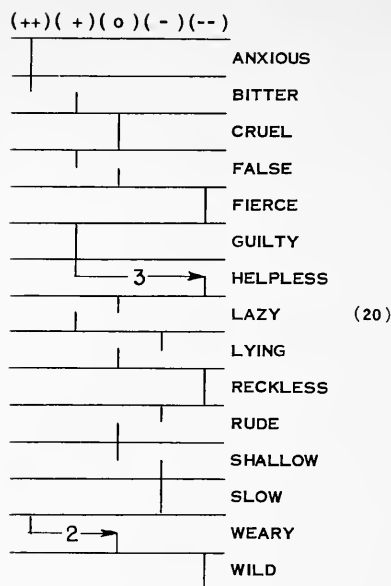


Fig. 8-1 concluded.

Janet seems well socialized. She associated herself with the socially proper and acceptable qualities of moral correctness. She considers herself honest ++, reliable ++, neat ++, clean ++, reasonable ++. She is also decent +, moral +, respectable +, mature +, pure +, and upright +. In the same light, she is not evil —, cheap —, wicked —, vulgar —, or violent —. The picture is a consistent one of social acceptability and conformity to standards.

Janet has a rather mundane and commonplace orientation toward life. She follows stereotyped patterns and pathways. She sees herself as practical ++, normal ++, sane ++, sensible ++, and domestic ++. She also feels religious + and stable +. She is definitely not vulgar —, reckless —, or crazy—. The picture suggests average, middle-of-the-road thinking.

She appears to feel a strong intellectual adequacy and orientation. She appears to herself as intelligent ++, smart ++, executive ++. She also feels curious +, scientific +, and technical +. She does not consider herself particularly stupid —, slow —, shallow—, dull—, or ignorant—. In this area the self concept is secure.

The intellectual competences are not completely supported by skills or by excessive habits of responsible perseverance. She feels hasty ++ and uncertain ++, also childish + and lazy +. She does not feel firm —, prompt —, exact —, skillful —, commer-

cial —, economic —, or professional —, quick —, willing —, original —, or responsible —. This clustering does not suggest strong tendencies toward diligent, effective, or prolonged effort at a given task.

Janet appears to be most unhappy and depressed. She sees herself as lonesome ++, miserable ++, sad ++, and unhappy ++. She is also bitter +. She is not particularly cheerful —, thankful —, contented —, joyful —, or merry —. The pattern is one of general sadness. However, this sadness is probably concealed, as reflected by the low scoring of gloomy — and wretched —.

She also appears extremely anxious. She feels herself anxious ++, timid ++, fearful ++, nervous +. She does not feel particularly peaceful —, powerful —, brave —, or fearless —. The pattern suggests a nervous, frightened outlook.

Janet sees herself as an envious person. Apparently she sees the outside world as having much that she desires. Her socially proper orientation cannot, however, accept her own envy. The envy thus carries a heavy load of hostility with it. She sees herself as jealous ++, selfish ++, vain +, and greedy +. She does not feel modest — or grateful —.

The above is probably one of the main roots of her apparent feelings of guilt. She sees herself as guilty +, sorry +, and wrong +.

In summary, Janet feels herself to be a socially proper and correct young lady with high intellectual associations and orientations. She is not, however, particularly responsible or dependable for continued high-precision activity. She is a sad and frightened girl, unhappy over her own relatively inadequate lot in life. She is envious of others and feels guilty as a result.

Part of her unhappiness can probably be seen in her motive system. She is physically a plain and relatively unattractive girl. And yet, she would be loved ++ and beautiful ++. She cannot tolerate being ugly —.

She comes from a poor home but desires to be rich ++. She is socially proper and constrained, but desires to be free +. She is frightened and wishes to be safe + and secure +.

Janet's value system is in conflict at one important point. She is unsure of the relative merits of being dependent or independent.

On the one hand, people should be proud ++, direct ++, independent ++. They should be definite +, different +, sharp +, and shrewd +. This is a pattern of one who feels that much that one gets out of life must be taken, often against the desires of others.

On the other hand, one should be humble ++, soft ++, quiet +, sensitive +, and dependent +. This is the other side of the coin. Accent is on the softer, more feminine side of the system.

Janet's value system is in opposition to her own self concept in one respect. She feels the value of social nonconformity and deviation. One should be liberal ++, modern ++, different +, and progressive +. One should not be conservative — or formal —. Her self concept, on the other hand, contains considerable social propriety.

The friendliness and acceptance of others that is seen in her self concept is also seen in her value pattern. People should be soft ++ and sensitive +. They should not be critical —, severe —, strict —, suspicious —, cold —, cunning —, or hard —. This pattern further substantiates the belief that Janet is, above all things, a socially pleasant and cooperative person. She apparently seeks love and will love the world in return for its favors.

In considering Janet's concept of the environment, the following conclusions are suggested:

Janet sees people as nice and socially proper. They are decent ++, proper ++, understanding ++, moral ++, friendly ++, reasonable ++, sincere +, kind +, patient +, honest +. They are not evil —, savage —, wicked —, or fierce —. Nor are they cheap —, rough —, or rude —.

People are also scared. People are fearful ++, nervous ++, and anxious ++.

But this concept of people as pleasant and frightened is not all. On the other hand, people tend to be hostile. In this respect her picture of other people is very much like her picture of herself. People are angry ++, bitter ++, jealous +, and cruel +. People are not gentle — or peaceful —. This hostility is apparently controlled, however; it does not necessarily break into aggressive action. People are not rough —, lying —, or rude —. Nor are they fierce —, reckless —, or wild —.

In general, Janet's feelings about herself and the environment are quite similar. The only highly significant difference suggests some of Janet's feelings of personal guilt. She feels that the environment is much more (4 points) proper than she is.

John Savage

John Savage is thirty-five years old. He describes himself, and his family, as "typical middle-class." He was brought up in a small central California town in a semirural, semiurban environ-

ment. There were two major ethnic groups in the area, Portuguese and English. John was of the latter.

John describes his father as a pleasant man. He worked as an executive for an electrical manufacturer but quit his job in 1927 when they wanted to transfer him from his fairly quiet home in the small town to San Francisco, a central distribution point for their western activity. He then joined a bank and is now a senior member of the firm.

During hours of intensive interviewing, John tells us little if anything about his mother. She was a "housewife." She was a strict disciplinarian, as was the father. The family was always restricted and controlled by the parents. Both he and his younger brother were required to be home and in bed long before others in the neighborhood.

He denies any present resentment about this restriction. He says that "after he grew up," he became "pleased and proud of being restricted" as a child. He only hesitantly infers that it may not have been too pleasant when he was younger.

His brother is four years his junior. He tells us that he always surpassed his brother physically; his brother surpassed him intellectually. He describes his relation to his brother, as to the rest of his family, as very good, close and cordial. "We are more like friends" than like a family.

In elementary and high school he was an average to above-average student. He was physically smaller than most in his class, but he surpassed them in athletic accomplishment. He was a fine trackman, a captain of the varsity during his last two years in high school. He was also a member and officer of many social organizations in high school. He was vice-president of his senior class. Classwork ran second to extracurricular activities. However, English, especially writing, and mathematics were most pleasing.

On completing high school, John could not attend college for lack of funds. It was deep in the Depression at the time. He apprenticed himself in a local furniture manufacturing plant. Here he made friends with employees and executives alike. He was encouraged by a vice-president to make the business his career, to give up his college plans and stay with the company. After a year, however, even under such highly friendly and favorable conditions, he decided to work toward a college education.

During this first year out of high school, State College offered him a track scholarship which he accepted.

John tells us that he was always a bit of a daredevil. In fact,

he says, he still is. "I guess I'm a bit of a menace behind a wheel." During the summer prior to attending college he was in an automobile accident that crushed his left leg, leaving him permanently crippled although quite capable of moving around with a brace and a slight limp. He does not use a cane or a crutch. He says that he took the accident lightly and has never been much concerned about the permanent disability, either at that time or at the present. In fact, he turns to athletics, tennis and squash, whenever he becomes tense and overworked.

Following his quick recovery, he went to college, where they insisted that he still be a scholarship student, trackman or not. He majored in engineering, found it easy, and worked little in his first two years. He was about a year older than the other boys and a social leader.

John decided that he was not getting an adequate education, was not working hard enough, and was not fully using his time. His grades were very good, and he applied for a scholarship, which was awarded, at Cal. Tech.

In the next two years he found that the intellectual level there was far above his ability and training. He desperately engaged in an effort to maintain his scholarship and graduate by taking only those courses "which I had a prayer" of passing.

Following graduation he married a college sweetheart. They have four children, two boys and two girls, ranging from seven to one year in age. He says that "Betty and I and the kids are as happy with one another as any family could possibly be." They don't have too many friends, but those they have are close. They see about a half dozen couples on and off. "We spend a lot of social time with both our parents."

In the family he does little to discipline the children. His wife takes over this responsibility. He commented on the fact that his wife's parents were very easygoing, his very strict, and now his wife and he have reversed the positions.

Following two years at Cal. Tech., having obtained a B.S. "by the skin of my teeth," he enrolled in the industrial management program of a large midwestern university. He found this type of education pleasant and not overly challenging. He found that he could master all of the material except "finance." He excelled in "production" but was average in the other areas.

After graduation he took off for "home," back to the semirural atmosphere in which he and his family could have the "good life." He obtained a job as assistant to the assistant manager of a small manufacturing firm and quit four months later to accept the job

as assistant to the chairman of the Industrial Development Commission of that section of the state.

He held this job for about a year, and then was fired. He was bothered by what he felt was his superior's lack of integrity, unclear and unforceful decisions, indefinite planning, and political overflexibility. At a board meeting he stood up and, "I shot off my mouth." "They had to let me go, since I should never have criticized him in public."

He then obtained a job as business manager of the electronics design section of a large engineering contracting firm. He held this job directly under the manager of the design department. His superior was a man of "keen and decisive decisions." John says he "likes quick decisions." He and his boss got along fine, except for one thing. The only trouble came because he failed to hand in detailed written reports. He would only inform his superior in the most offhand verbal manner about what he was doing. He would make commitments for the company without authority; with "luck" it always seemed to work out all right.

He held this job for two years, and then left to accept a job as plant manager of a small electric-parts manufacturing firm. The firm's president was a "strong man." He set policy, made sure it was clear, and then stuck to it. The plant manager could make all the necessary decisions within the limits of such policy. He "liked this guy."

He also liked the work. It gave him an opportunity to do some designing. He likes to design. He likes to study architecture, especially contemporary architecture. He says that he is very aesthetic and he paints in his spare time. He enjoys tinkering and working with his hands. This job gave him some opportunity to both get his hands dirty and do creative work.

Taking the job, he quickly rearranged the personnel, firing and hiring key men under him. Shortly after he had completed this operation, "the strong man" dropped dead and left him without a "firm structure and policy" to follow.

The estate of the former owner-president, and other interests, set up a board of directors above him. These six men tended to do little, either at a strategic or tactical level.

Just at this time, as a result of general business conditions, the bottom dropped out of the business. From a gross production of \$100,000 a month, they dropped to \$12,000. Everybody took a cut and many were discharged.

Just at this time the new director-president told him that he was to start producing a new electronic garage-door opener for retail

sale. Up to this time the company had made complex electronic equipment on subcontract to major airplane manufacturers. "I didn't tell the director what he could do with his garage-door opener, although I would have liked to." He just ignored the whole business, refused to put the idea into production, and was fired.

He says that he didn't like the idea; it was unrealistic. He also didn't like the way the plant was running without real direction. Also he hates and "despises" having to "butter up people."

He is now looking for a new position. His father-in-law and his close friends (he doesn't discuss his life with his own father) suggest that perhaps he should work with things rather than with people.

The present analysis of the map reproduced as Figure 8-2 only covers points directly connected with the immediate problem. In this case we are confronted by an intelligent young man who hurts his career through interpersonal conflict, especially with superiors. Examination of the map is focused on answering the question "Why?" and toward possible corrective guidance.

The pattern of self associations in the interpersonal area is most striking. Savage conceives of himself as frank ++, vain ++, and stubborn ++. He is not modest —, gentle —, tender —, or gallant —. He is firm + but not sympathetic —. He doesn't think of himself as social —. Here is a picture of a roughshod approach to people. He seems to feel little tendency to accept the weaknesses or frailty of others.

Combined with this is a perception of himself as socially moral. He is decent +, moral ++, honest ++, faithful ++, and not evil —. With such feelings it is probably easier to attack others "with justification." He is right, they are wrong; and right must triumph over wrong.

Integrating with these two factors is still a third. Savage sees himself as intelligent ++, competent ++, responsible ++, capable ++, sensible +, skillful +, reliable +, and not stupid —. However, this tight-knit perception of personal adequacy appears to be something of a facade suggesting perhaps the counterfeelings of intense inadequacy. For evidence of such we turn to some loaded words; he feels not very powerful — or manly —, not particularly wise —, smart —, or brilliant —. The pattern appears to suggest feelings of intellectual potential, emotional inadequacy, and some resultant social failing. *Smart* and *wise* are terms used often to convey a successfully used competence and not mere competence potential.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ACCURATE
	CALM
	COMPETENT
	DECENT
	FIRM
	GENEROUS
	HONEST
	LOVING (1)
	MODEST
	PATIENT
	PROMPT
	RELIABLE
	SERIOUS
	SPIRITUAL
	THANKFUL

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ALERT
	CHEERFUL
	COURTEOUS
	FAITHFUL
	FRIENDLY
	GRACEFUL
	JOYFUL
	MANLY (3)
	NEAT
	POWERFUL
	QUICK
	RESPECTABLE
	SMART
	SYMPATHETIC
	WILLING

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	AFFECTIONATE
	CAREFUL
	CONTENTED
	EXACT
	FRANK
	GENTLE
	INTELLIGENT
	LOYAL (2)
	MORAL
	PEACEFUL
	PROPER
	RELIGIOUS
	SINCERE
	STRONG
	UNDERSTANDING

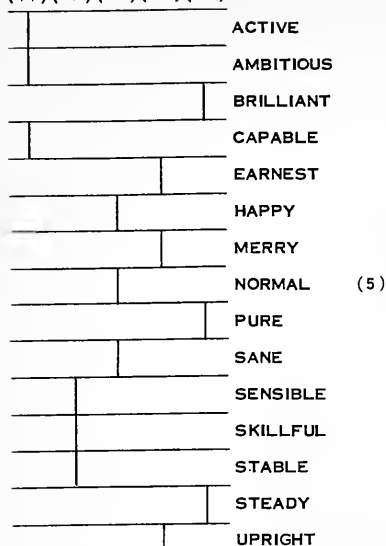
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BRAVE
	CLEAN
	CURIOUS
	FEARLESS
	GALLANT
	GRATEFUL
	KIND
	MATURE (4)
	ORIGINAL
	PRACTICAL
	REASONABLE
	RESPONSIBLE
	SOCIAL
	TENDER
	WISE

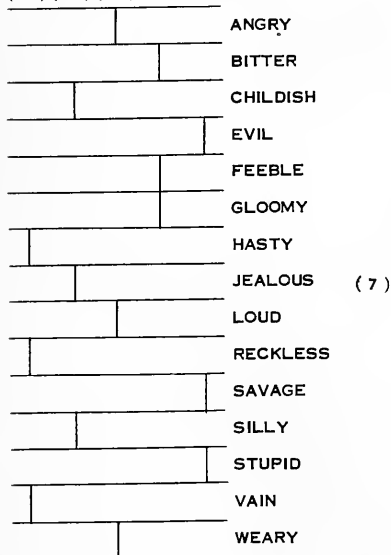
Fig. 8-2. Polydiagnostic profile of John Savage.

FOUR INNER WORLDS

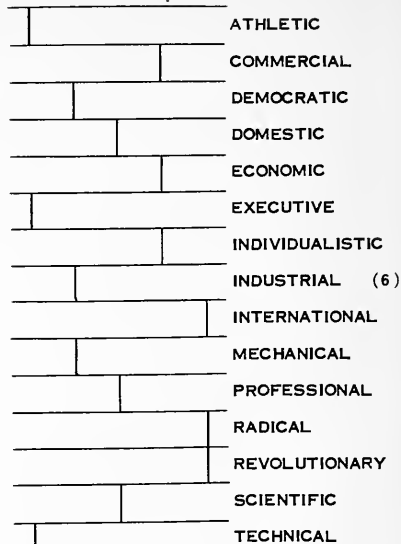
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

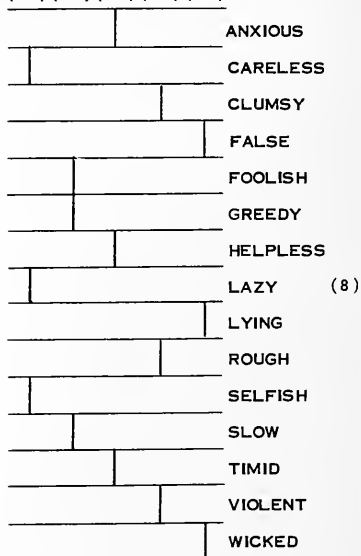


Fig. 8-2 continued.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

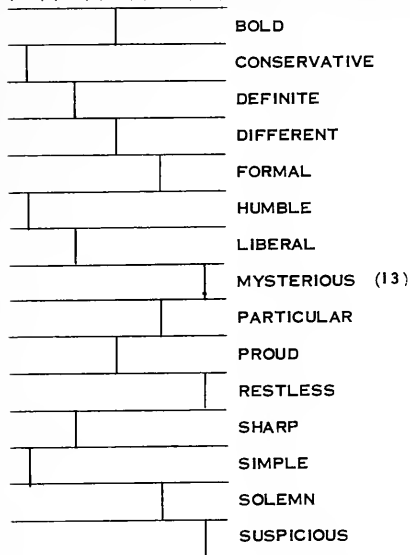
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

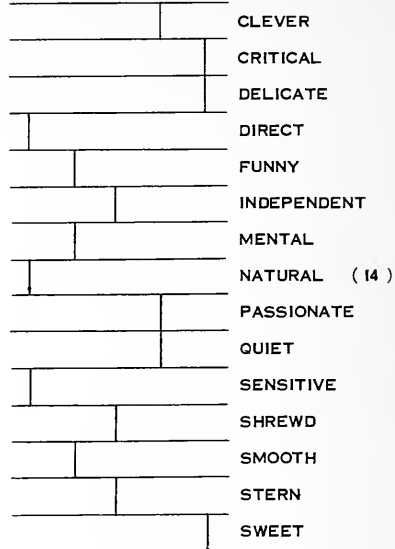
Fig. 8-2 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

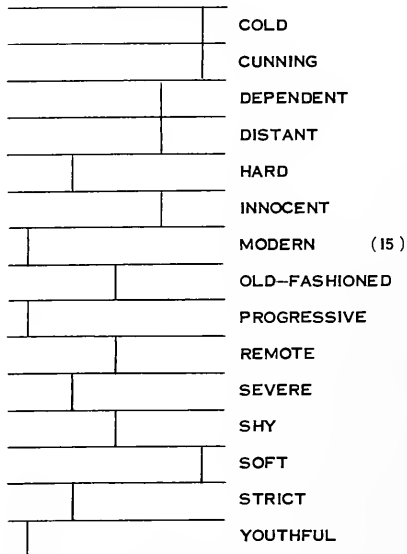
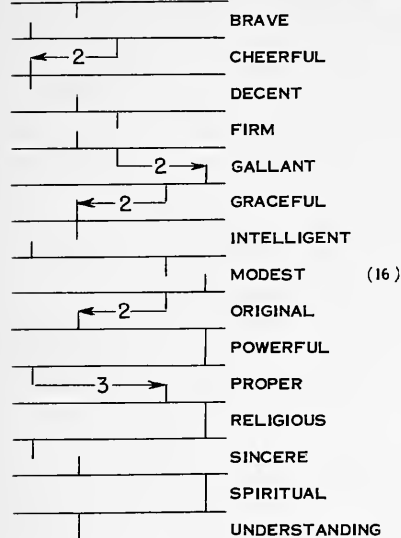


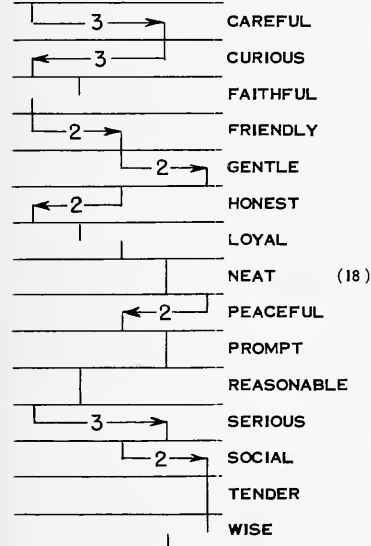
Fig. 8-2 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

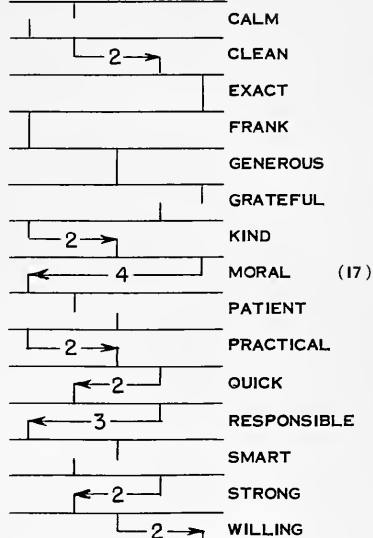
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



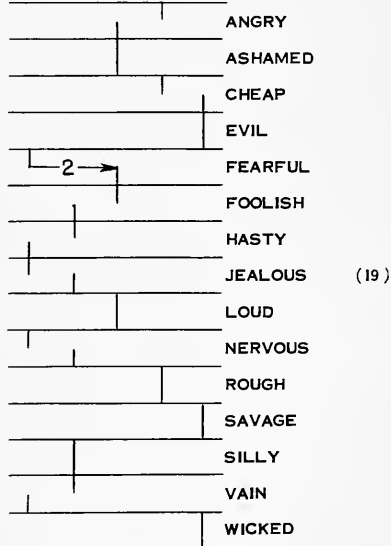
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL
 BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 8-2 continued.

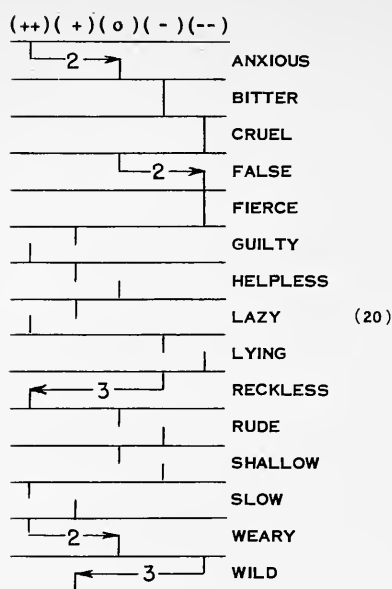


Fig. 8-2 concluded.

Combined with this is a blend of self-dissatisfaction suggested by guilty ++, wrong ++, odd ++, and sorry ++. Such felt impropriety is combined with the feeling of personal morality outlined above. It further reflects a person bothered by a moral outlook and an amoral pattern of actions that fail to live up to his desires. This is also seen by his feeling not particularly pure —.

Savage perceives himself as not very accurate —, prompt —, serious —, careful —, proper —, neat —, or clean —. These are some of the little things that help indicate whether a person is self-controlled. Savage seems to feel a lack of such self-control, thus perhaps touching one of his major dissatisfactions. He adds to this with his feelings of being childish +, silly +, and jealous +.

Up to this point he appears to be a young executive with feelings of his own potential goodness and his own potential competence. He feels guilty and dissatisfied with himself because (1) he is personally ambitious and unwilling to accept others as more important than himself, (2) he fails to have adequate self-discipline and self-control, and (3) he is not as socially facile and wise as he might be. With these are the apparently important feelings of weak masculine identification and weakness in opposing others.

Supporting the self associations is the pattern of motives. Savage would be loved ++, healthy ++, and free ++. Greatness

and success fall lower on the list, but not so low as fame or fortune.

John says that his physical handicap is not of appreciable consequence, and he appears casual about joblessness. The motive system, however, gives a different picture. John is least willing to tolerate being lame —, ugly —, or poor —.

The value system is also in conflict. Strong on the one hand are his feelings that one should be conservative ++, simple ++, natural ++, humble ++, and sensitive ++, and on the other hand modern ++, progressive ++, direct ++, hard +, strict +, severe +, definite +, and sharp +. One should not be soft —, but at the same time one should not be cold — or cunning —. Again, one must ride over the environment, but always in a socially proper and acceptable way.

So far we see a focus on competence and propriety, combined with a need for love and social contact, in a value system that stresses socially proper self-insistence. We now place this in an environment perceived to be decent ++, proper ++, sincere ++, frank ++, kind ++, friendly ++, and understanding +. The environment is also fearful ++, nervous ++, anxious ++, weary ++, guilty +, helpless +, and vain +. People in general are not wild —, fierce —, cruel —, wicked —, savage —, or evil —. This is certainly a pretty picture of the outside world. Other people are moral, decent, upstanding kinds of folk; they feel weak, helpless, and frightened. They have no great aggressive needs.

The association score differences between the self and the environment are also disclosing. The largest difference is that the self is very moral and the environment is not. On the other hand, the self is not proper, while the environment is. The self is noticeably less careful and serious, more responsible, curious, wild, and reckless.

The comparison again points up the apparent conflicts in the areas of morality and competence. Of particular interest is the divergence: people are proper but not moral, I am moral but not proper. This appears in other places as: I am good down deep but bad on the surface, people are good on the surface but bad underneath.

The pattern of conflicts does not appear to lead either to anxiety or to depression. He suggests that he feels calm ++ and cheerful ++, not miserable —, desperate —, or bitter —. Terms like *anxious*, *fearful*, and *fearless* have no strong positive or negative directions.

In summary, the map suggests a well-adjusted person showing no appreciable neurotic or psychotic tendencies, anxiety, or felt

insecurity, even in the face of unemployment. He does seem to be fighting two battles with himself. One, he cannot come to accept divergences in the cultural standards; he still sees life in terms of clear blacks and whites, and he has trouble with all the moral grays of his own and other people's personalities. He cannot compromise easily, especially when he feels "in the right."

Second, he apparently suffers from a shift of sex roles. He seems to have more feminine facets than might be expected, especially as seen in his need for love and his low feelings of manliness and power.

He is highly ambitious and yet will not compromise his sense of propriety for success. Such compromise is made more difficult by his felt masculine inadequacy. It may thus be emotionally essential to stick up for what is right.

A new job, as reflected by the picture of set six, would ideally include executive control in a technical environment. It is also important that the job area be reasonably conventional. One reconciliation of Savage's problem might result from his going into business for himself as soon as possible. Such an action, however, would not satisfy his apparently important need to be loved by a father figure. As president, Savage would have no one above him to love him and tell him he is good. Another possibility is an executive position doing more technical work than he has in the past, directly under an autocratic employer. He might consider the possibility of academic employment, perhaps with a business school as a part-time instructor. This would help satisfy his needs for felt superiority, social propriety, and group membership.

Any beneficial future changes in the map would be along the lines of reduced idealism, increased acceptance of his own feelings of masculine inadequacy, reduction in the use of intellectual competence to cover felt emotional inadequacy, acceptance of restricted social contacts, and acceptance of the idea that he will not be loved by everyone, especially not by every superior.

Part IV

The Case of Eric Riddal



CHAPTER 9

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Eric, red-faced, hair peppered with gray, walked into my office almost diffidently. He said hesitantly that he had learned I studied people and he wondered if I had a moment to talk with him. He waited for me to invite him to sit down and then introduced himself: Eric Riddal, age 40, divorced, presently unemployed construction engineer. He sat down in a relaxed and careless manner befitting his strong rough-hewn body but contrasting the formality of his well-pressed gray flannel suit and his highly polished shoes.

He wondered if it would be possible and agreeable for me to study him and, in return, to tell him something of what I learned. He was in need of advice and thought that perhaps this arrangement might be the best way for him to receive it. He had talked to a number of counselors and clinicians, looking for someone to advise him; but he had hesitated to commit himself to their hands because, as he put it, "They all seemed to be working out of some dingy one-room office and didn't look very successful themselves." He said that he "had confidence in colleges and universities and that sort of thing," and that my being connected with a university was important to him.

He said that if I wished to test him and question him, he would speak freely and honestly. He hoped that I, in turn, might tell him how he could turn his life to greater advantage. He was beginning to feel that life was slipping past him and that he had never been other than a failure. He felt that he had the potential for great success, but he was not sure of what he should do to gain that end. That would be my job, to show him how to turn a life that he felt he had wasted into one that would be rich and fruitful.

I promised him nothing, but told him that I would be delighted to have him as a subject. At the end I would tell some of my impressions of him and would help him to understand himself a little better as we went along. With this he agreed.

Eric Riddal was born in a small town close by the Bad Lands of South Dakota. There his father owned the town hardware

store, which had been started by his grandfather. Eric was the middle child of three. His brother was ten years younger than he. He never knew his older sister, who had died when she was two. Eric grew up and lived in the same town in which he was born even after he was old enough to go to college, a small community school nearby from which he commuted home each evening. He left home fully, and finally, to enter the navy in 1941. Since then he has visited his parents only briefly and for no more than a few weeks at a time, with his visits spaced two or sometimes three years apart.

When he does return home, he hates it; for he feels that his father, now sixty, cannot accept him as adult. He said, "Sometimes I think I'll punch him in the face when I can't control my temper at the way he talks to me like a baby. I couldn't do that, of course. So, instead, I just keep away from South Dakota. I feel guilty as hell about not visiting, but what can you do."

The frightening things Eric recalls from his very young days all relate to animals and insects. He was afraid of the wild animals that would come close to town to rummage in the garbage. He once was badly bitten by ants which he had disturbed in a large anthill. He was threatened by his parents, who told him that they would let the big animals have him if he did not stop wetting his bed.

Other than these few specific fears, his impressions of his childhood are more general. He recalls with distaste that his parents constantly watched over him and would not leave him alone to his own devices. By the time he was twelve it had reached the point that he hated to return home after school, anticipating that his mother would not leave him alone but would busy herself over his health and welfare. Finally, his father waited for him at school and escorted him home to prevent his arriving two or three hours late.

Eric does not recall ever being punished, but he is preoccupied with the excess of attention he received as a child. "I was always kept in quite a bit. My parents thought I was a frail child, and I was given all kinds of medicines, always cautioned about catching cold, always had to wear rubbers and a raincoat if it was raining. I remember wearing 'long johns' with stockings that came up and buttoned on the hip. I even wore high shoes and knickers and was well bundled up. I used to hate to have to get dressed and then undressed again in school, where I had to take so blooming much stuff off."

He says, summing up his childhood, "Both my mother and father were very kind, and I don't think that there was any maliciousness in anything that they did. But I used to be made very uncomfortable by their solicitous attention. I was never allowed to go out and play as freely as I wanted to, and I usually had to play in the house or in the yard. And most of the time I wanted to break away from the routine and couldn't do it. I guess anyone can run away if they really want to, but somehow I just stayed."

Eric recalls his parents seldom arguing between themselves. They argued only when his father would come home from work late and would thereby destroy the normal routine of supper. "He would come home late frequently and my mother would be waiting with dinner at the table, and when he would come in she would be irritated because he wasn't there on time. He thought that since he was out keeping his family going and he needed the time to do this, he had a right to come home late. I can remember only two quarrels in which they raised their voices at each other. In one I heard my father tell my mother that he was a fool to marry her. She said that she too was a fool for marrying him."

Eric thinks that his father was not enough of a joiner. He feels that his father spent too much of his time working with the hardware in the store and not enough time dealing with people and through them building his business. His father would not let him join the scouts or school clubs. He wanted Eric to stay close to home and mind his own affairs.

Eric blames his shyness and awkward manner on his father's keeping him away from other people. In high school he had few friends and seldom dated. When once he did find a girl who liked him, he was too uncomfortable with her to keep her as a close friend. He blames his father for this also.

Eric says that he has little feeling toward his brother. He thinks of him as just a younger kid who was in the house but who did not interfere with his own life. He says that now he pities his brother because he seems to have become an overgrown baby who cannot throw over the things he learned in that small town in South Dakota. With a touch of envy, he describes his brother as "a sturdy individual, whereas I was a frail individual; and I slumped when I walked, and he more or less carried himself very well. So he, I can remember, was held up to me as a model to be followed. He ate better, he was better behaved. But I seem to pity him more than anything else, he has become so like my father."

Eric could not get away from home fast enough. "I don't like that town and the people there. I can remain anonymous in a large place. That has its blessings, because the people are not always prying. Everybody knows what you are doing in a small town. You can't make a move."

A year after he had started an uneventful college attendance, Eric joined the navy and then became a naval air cadet. He says that this was the finest period of his life. He loved flying and looked forward to overseas duty. When he completed training, he was assigned to an instructorship in the United States. He says that this was distasteful and that he regularly applied for overseas duty. Nevertheless, he remained in the States for three years. Finally he was discharged for medical reasons; he had become progressively more troubled by stomach pains and cramps that were eventually diagnosed as of psychoneurotic-hysterical origin.

Using his discharge pay and G.I. Bill of Rights schooling privileges, Eric enrolled in a technical college, did average work for about a year, and then left halfway through the first term of his second year. "I wandered into school two weeks late for the start of the term, and they said I would have to take fewer subjects that term. That was all right with me and I started off doing pretty well, making mostly B's. My stomach started to act up again, and I started to miss classes and decided I might as well quit for the year, since I wasn't getting much schooling out of it."

He went home for a visit and then to the West Coast to work in the fruit orchards. He found the work too hard, and after a month he quit and went to Los Angeles to work for an aircraft company, where he ran errands for the engineers. Two months later he went to Mexico with a construction crew. At the end of the summer he returned to school.

"I had a good time those last years in school. I scraped by with grades just short of being kicked out, but somehow I made it to the end. I had a nice dormitory room with a living room and usually a couple of nice roommates. We all seemed to mind our own business and never became very close. I never see any of the guys from college."

Eric was graduated and went back to the West Coast to look for work as an engineer. He was rehired by the same aircraft company and stayed there for almost a year. He made a few friends, one of whom introduced him to a girl who had also just graduated from college and who was working as a secretary. He married her shortly thereafter, although, as he put it, "I think that probably if we had waited we wouldn't have gotten married."

There was a brief period of passion that kept getting weaker until, by the time we were talking about marriage, neither of us was very excited about the whole thing. But it was a matter of coasting along with plans we had made, and we were too lazy to change them. So, with a good deal of hemming and hawing on both our parts, we got married."

Eric became dissatisfied with his work and quit. "I was getting nowhere. The engineering I was doing was all work a draftsman could have done. The group leader did not particularly like me, and I had a feeling I would be doing much the same thing for years. I was starting to come in late every morning, missing work some days, pretending I was sick, and generally caring less and less. The leader once asked me if I was really interested in the work, and I laughed and told him of course not. I guess he didn't like honesty, because after that he was pretty cold toward me."

For the next four months Eric relaxed and lived on what his wife made. "It was pretty tight, but we made it. Had a lot of fun too. I used to pick her up after work and we would go to the beach or driving. I sometimes think it is a great shame people have to work for a living. There's a lot of life that runs through your fingers because you are too tired or bored to go after it."

Eric learned that he could have more work in Mexico and that his pay as an engineer would come to ten or eleven thousand dollars with allowances and overtime. He left his wife in California and went to Mexico, presumably for just a few months to make some money; but he stayed almost a year and returned when the job was finished. "I was awfully fed up with Mexico at this point, but still it was money to be made, and so I stuck it out. When I returned to California, I started looking around for something else. I always was interested in farming and looked at some farms. I also talked to some people about engineering jobs, but nothing interested me too much. I almost bought an orchard, but didn't have the money. I thought perhaps another trip to Mexico might be necessary for that; and, besides, by this time most of the money from the last trip had run out."

Eric went back to Mexico, this time for four months, and again he returned to California when the job was finished. By that time he was no longer interested in farming. He and his wife used what money they had saved to pay for a divorce. "We were good friends, but little more. I wish that she might have been more supportive and approving of what I did. Somehow I always had the feeling that she had a mind of her own and that she never completely approved of the way we lived. We had a lot in common,

enjoyed the same sort of things, such as reading, listening to music. We never fought. But somehow we were never close; she gave lip service to my plans and ideas, but I think she never really believed in any of them. I could never come to feel that she was a warm person, either physically or mentally, for me."

In the last five years Eric has held four jobs. He has been back to Mexico twice, to South Africa and to Asia, working as a construction engineer. He takes on an assignment, stays with the job until it is finished, spends the money he has made, and then takes another job. With allowances and special rates, his salary is excellent. But he seldom works more than seven months out of the year and seldom has anything left when he goes back to work. Each time he returns to the United States, "I search around for steady employment, but everything that I turn up is dull and uninteresting. I'd like to get rich quickly, and the only way to do that is to work for yourself. I'm always on the lookout for some good business; but when I find something that might work out, I usually don't have the money to swing it."

Besides looking for the special job, Eric is looking for special people. "I like people that have a zest for life, enthusiasm, drive. They want something and will bend every effort to get it. That was the trouble with my father. He let life slip past him. I still get furious when he tries to convince me that his way of living is worth anything. It's just a waste, sitting around doing nothing but the same thing you did the day before. I envy people who get a tremendous amount of fun out of living."

There are some kinds of people Eric says he cannot stand. As an example of one kind, "... he'd give you the shirt off his back, but he wouldn't let you give him your shirt in return. He was always putting you in a position of indebtedness to him, or at least I always felt that way. This fellow I'm thinking about would never let you repay a favor. After a while we were deadly enemies; and I would have hit him at least twice, except that fighting in Mexico meant getting shipped home on the next plane.

"Another kind of guy I can't tolerate is the one who is always running to tell the boss when you disagree or you get into an argument. I remember one guy like this who was constantly screaming to the project director when some of us got drunk and noisy in the project living quarters. One night he barged into my room, and I told him that if he didn't get out we were going to have a fight. The next morning he was to the authorities first, and my story carried no water at all."

A third type of person Eric cannot accept is exemplified by, "... he was inclined to be a little nasty all of the time. He was the kind of boss who is always yelling at you as if he owned you and you were supposed to live just for him. Once we were very noisy and he came out and yelled at me and said, 'Hey, you, come here,' and I told him, 'Go to hell.' I guess if he had said it in a nice way I would have gone over, but I just don't like guys who are always acting the boss.

"I remember another guy I didn't care for. He was apt to be a little pompous, and I used to drive him wild. He was meticulously neat, and I do like to see people that are meticulously neat, although I am apt to be, on the other hand, a little bit sloppy, not always arranging my clothes or making the bed. Well, the source of irritation was mainly that it almost drove him wild to see the way I lived, while it did not bother me to see the way he lived. At first I rather admired him for his being careful. But I got to the point where neither of us could stand each other, he hating me for not being orderly and me hating him for not minding his own business and leaving me to my own way."

Eric no longer complains of stomach trouble. He says that he has not been bothered that way since his divorce. He is leading his life much the way he would, but he is still unhappy and searching for something. He says that he is looking for the kind of wife that can understand and appreciate his philosophy of life; he wonders if perhaps he might find such a girl only in Mexico. He wonders if perhaps he should try to settle down and live an ordinary life as an engineer in the States, no matter how distasteful it is to him. He thinks perhaps he should cultivate a wider circle of friends. He also thinks that perhaps he should go back to college and learn some new profession, although he is not sure just what. He hopes I might answer these questions for him.

CHAPTER 10

THE TEST RESULTS

There are many ways to look at and try to understand a man. One of these is by talking with him about what he is and what he wishes he were. Another way to see him is from the vantage point of psychometric and projective tests. From this latter viewpoint, Eric appears as follows.

His responses to the Kuder Preference Record Vocational¹ emphasize Eric's interest in observing and participating in aesthetic activities (Literary = 83, Musical = 67, Artistic = 64). They also reflect his interest in controlling and influencing other people, in contrast to his disinterest in helping or assisting others who are in trouble (Persuasive = 72, Social Service = 07). Particularly, his Vocational Record points out Eric's dislike for the many routine activities related to his engineering; he does not enjoy working with machinery, he is inclined away from numerical computation, and he is disinterested in office procedures involving precision and accuracy (Mechanical = 26, Computational = 20, Clerical = 40). His Vocational Record Profile also pictures his partial interest in problem solving (Scientific = 60) and in working outside rather than indoors (Outdoor = 54).

Eric's responses to the Kuder Preference Record Personal suggest that he enjoys and might deliberately seek unstable, exciting, and unfamiliar situations that involve social conflict, difficulty, and unpleasantness (Stable Situations = 10, Avoiding Conflict = 09). His Personal Record Profile also indicates that Eric enjoys being with and working with people, especially when it is possible for him to lead and direct them (Group Activity = 92, Directing Others = 97). Finally, there is an indication of his relative preference for working with concepts rather than with objects (Dealing with Ideas = 89).

Jointly his two Kuder records suggest that Eric's social interests are mainly focused on controlling and dominating others. He

¹ G. F. Kuder, *Kuder preference record vocational C; Kuder preference record personal A* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1948, 1953). Scores reported here are percentiles based on normative data for men.

seems to have little interest in concrete, practical, and useful work, tending rather to prefer the abstract, intellectual, aesthetic realms of thinking. He seems to accept conflict and instability while rejecting routine and monotony. In overview, he appears a dreamer rather than a doer.

His responses to the Thurstone Temperament Schedule² describe Eric as a person who enjoys physical effort, especially outdoor active sports and occupations (Vigorous = 74); they suggest that to a lesser extent he is generally hyperactive, preferring to do many things rapidly (Active = 60), although he is not happy-go-lucky or quick to make decisions (Impulsive = 40). His Thurstone Schedule Profile also portrays Eric as a person inclined toward meditative thinking, preferring theoretical as opposed to practical problems (Reflective = 66). There is some slight indication that Eric tends not to take responsibility and initiative for organizing projects (Dominant = 38). He is also portrayed as of average emotional stability (Stable = 48), although not particularly agreeable in his relation to others (Sociable = 42).

The profile of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory³ pictures Eric as a person only slightly concerned with social standards and conventions, a person inclined toward delinquent nonconformity (Psychopathic deviate = 98). His MMPI responses also indicate that Eric's deviation stems not from a carefree lack of anxiety over nonconformity but rather from his almost prepsychotic disorganization and confusion of thought, growing in part from his withdrawal from social reality (Schizophrenia = 87). To substantiate further the probability that Eric's nonconformity is of such an emotionally disturbed origin, his MMPI gives evidence of his being relatively hyperactive, easily excitable, and inclined toward emotionally motivated flights of fanciful thinking (Hypomania = 75).

His MMPI gives clear evidence of Eric's neurotic difficulties, especially his attempt to solve his emotional conflicts by means of an escape into physical illness and disability (Hysteria = 72) and a tendency toward an emotional preoccupation with his bodily health (Hypochondriasis = 67). His neurotic problems are also shown by his considerable self-doubt, his fears and preoccupying

² L. L. Thurstone, *Thurstone temperament schedule* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1950). Scores reported here are percentiles based on normative data for men.

³ S. R. Hathaway and J. C. McKinley, *Minnesota multiphasic personality inventory* (New York: Psychological Corp., 1951). Scores reported here are T scores having a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, based on normative data. Eric's less extreme scores are: L=43, F=58, K=61, D=56, Pa=62.

obsessions (Psychasthenia = 71). His MMPI pattern also pictures Eric's slightly feminine pattern of interests (Masculinity-femininity = 67).

In overview, Eric's MMPI profile suggests an insecure man who, out of fear, pulls away from his social community in both his thought and his habits and seeks his way in the world by means of an obsessive and hyperactive but fruitless search to find a place for himself.

The Wechsler-Bellevue Scale Form II⁴ indicates Eric's I.Q. as: Verbal = 128, Performance = 140, Full Scale = 136. Outstanding was his ability to analyze and synthesize in the performance areas, his ability to deal with things and see relationships between things rapidly and accurately, his extreme awareness of the details of the environment, and his factual knowledge that at times was of an esoteric nature in its obscurity.

A completely blind clinical analysis of Eric, made by an independent Wechsler analyst who did not know either Eric's other test results or his case history, included the following summary: "Eric appears to be anxious and questioning concerning his adequacy. He hides behind a defense of facts. When this defense breaks down, he then shows his hostility toward the world. He feels that he has been done injury but can do nothing about it. He feels helpless and submissive. He does not seem to be self-maintaining, and he needs to have others tell him that he is right. He needs other people but is not too successful in his social relations. He does not seem to be self-directed, yet he wants to be so. He seems impotent and powerless.

"He appears highly concerned with his own sad plight and, as a result, has little time left to develop a feeling for other people and ways to gain happiness with them. He seems to know more about things than about people. He needs reinforcement from people to such an extent that he cannot lead them. At the same time he dislikes being subjected to authority."

Eric gave over two hundred discrete responses to the ten Rorschach plates.⁵ He expressed his impressions in a quick and staccato manner and then, during the inquiry, claimed that he could no longer recall where he obtained all of his ideas. They "just came to me." His method of approach to the Rorschach makes it impossible to complete formal scoring, but it does supply a rich harvest for content analysis. His responses are listed in sequence below.

⁴ D. Wechsler, *Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence Scale* (New York: Psychological Corp., 1947).

⁵ H. Rorschach, *Psychodiagnostic plates* (New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1921).

Plate 1. Batman.

Plate 2. Birds, tropical sunset, seashell, butterfly, crab, two dogs nose to nose, cross-section of vertebra, new jet interceptor, shoes, baggy trousers, aerial photograph of two cliffs either side of an inlet, two seats carved in rock, cave opening with ends shimmering in water, seas and undulating ripples, nose fuse of an artillery piece, head of an insect, good cat, two socks, stone face on a mountain, explosion, frog without forearms, female genitals, cloud forms, breaking wave, male genitals, two eyes, nostrils, mutilated carcass, internal organs.

Plate 3. Two people holding stomachs, birdlike heads, good map of a lake, incomplete skeleton, insect eggs, eyes, scrawny necks with warts, two trees on the side of a hill at the edge of a small pond, two rabbit heads, mountain snow field, blind fish, bird in flight, truncated bush, two small tropical fish, medical illustration, cross between a bat and a manta ray, boar's head, edge of a lake with a clearing and woods, high-heeled woman's shoe, crab.

Plate 4. Being from outer space, female genitals, two geese quite dead; seventeenth-century hat on head with long nose, eyes, hair, and beard; skin of an animal, handle of a pot, coastlines, head of a warthog, English walnut, coastlines and lakes, head of an elephant, head of a hippo, mice, fish, goose scratching his chin with his foot, dog barking, heavy stone outcropping, small swarm of insects, animal mole, female figure, small pert bird, spinach.

Plate 5. Bat, alligator, silhouette head of an alert animal, bird flying fast, small arrow, boy, carrot, male genitals, gnome's face, cloud formation, animal heads, two profiles, bird wings, girl's legs, observatory dome, sunset, laughing bird, bell buoy, bearded chin, pigmy, spray, girl's leg, small make-believe animal, frog leaping, tuft of grass, camel's hump, female rear end, bearded old man of the mountain.

Plate 6. Deep cut in a canal, lips of a vagina, head of a butterfly, flylike insect, pelt, shoreline of a lake, part of a crab, Cherburg peninsula, sculptured forms, rock, driftwood, side of a hill, moonlight, yawning dog, bracket, flower, shock waves, sculpture, mournful face of an old cow, cliff, triggerfish, prehistoric fish, sandbars.

Plate 7. Two young children on a cloud, rabbit, small building at the end of a canyon between two mountains, two figures side by side, girl's face, distorted lane, camel's humps, icicles, snake's head, face blowing smoke, bat wings, female breasts, pelicans on a lake, angel's wings, marine animal, clouds, elephant's head, horse's head, modern free-form, wake of a boat, island, rhino head, aerial photo-

graph, two dancing girls, part of a catamaran, two Napoleonic hats, nicely molded shoulder, crab.

Plate 8. Coral, animals climbing up a wall, face of a marine animal, male genitals, bird, lake, map of Norway, sharklike head, vertebra, marine fauna, marine growth, female genitals, deteriorated bison skull, face of an imaginary creature, map details, head of an embryo, eroded sculpture, dinosaur, shrew.

Plate 9. Marine giant clam, female genitals, breasts, acorns, shrew, marine antenna, flame of a blowtorch, head of a moose, shoreline, head of a man, sunset on clouds, Caspian Sea, head of bat, areal beastdog, small bush against the sky, hippo head, good textured ground relief, natural bridge, mother of pearl, two seahorses, A-bomb explosion, observation tower on a hill, nice green forest on the edge of a lake.

Plate 10. Two flying mice, aerial photograph, violin, marine fish, two small implike figures, Eiffel-like tower, deep green bowl, rabbit with bad eyes, curtains, oysters, two French poodles, hickory nut, Norway and Sweden, two girl figures, sycamore seed, skull of a mouse, frolicking dogs, front part of a running reindeer, shoreline, rodentlike animal, breast, hillside with smooth peaks, two kissing fishes, crab, wake of a boat, cloth, driftwood, storm clouds, two female figures, breasts, gargoyle's head, dead leaf on a tree, water-polished rocks, pig's head, two seahorses, two waterlike growths.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic reflected by his Rorschach responses is Eric's extreme emotional and social immaturity. His response pattern tends to suggest an emotionally preadolescent or adolescent boy with intense anxiety and conflict in the three vital areas of affection, aggression, and heterosexuality.

In the area of affection it would appear that Eric has rather intense needs for a childish form of physical body contact and maternal succor—needs that are unsatisfied, unacknowledged in his conscious awareness, and frightening to his own wishes for an adult personality. It would seem that Eric displaces and distorts his desires for maternal affection, pushing them into the abstract realm of inhuman and often inanimate aesthetic beauty and warmth. His response pattern suggests that he has the personality of a small boy who cannot admit his need for protection and comfort, lest he discover that this need, once admitted, will not be satisfied. Rather than admit his thwarted desire for comfort and love from others, he tends to remove himself from the world of people.

Eric also appears to have a considerable amount of unexpressed anger which he inhibits out of fear for himself should he once release his potential for aggression. His image of the effects of anger

are total and devastating. He sees people as completely destroyed. He sees the aggressive act itself as a monumental and cataclysmic incident. It is as if Eric's backlog of hatred is so great that he must keep it completely bottled and hidden, lest it overwhelm him and all those around him.

Eric's sexual feelings appear primitive and infantile. They are mainly involved with maternal affection and physical anatomy, while they ignore close, interpersonal heterosexual relations and feelings. He shows a distinct sexual immaturity that is focused in his preoccupation with human genitalia, which he sees as structural entities having form and function but lacking human emotional implications for intimacy or pleasure.

Eric's intellectual functioning appears relatively superficial and disorganized. His responses suggest that he would substitute quantity for quality, but the quantity contains considerable repetition only slightly veiled. His intellectual life seems mainly to revolve around inanimate and inhuman experiences withdrawn from social contact. His relation to people appears disjointed, fragmented, and reduced to elemental pregenital sexuality and inhibited aggressiveness. In overview, he shows a marked lack of superego functioning, an infantile id craving for maternal comfort, and a relatively immature and weak ego—a pattern suggesting a blend toward schizophrenia and psychopathic deviation.

Eric's Thematic Apperception Test⁶ protocol was relatively short and lacking in detail. He told simple stories that started prior to the time of the scene on the card, used the scene briefly in passing, and then concluded sometime after the time of the scene portrayed. He depended on the picture merely to set the mood of his story. His stories, synopses of which follow, were consistently lacking in depth and intensity. Although some of the stories contained seeds for potentially high emotion, the stories were not developed along emotional lines. There was little, if any, passion; and where erotic or aggressive scenes were portrayed, they were presented with little feeling.

Card 1. A boy is playing outdoors with other children on a bright and sunny day when his mother calls him into the house to practice the violin. He wants to return to his play, but he practices instead and forgets about his friends. When he finishes practicing, it is time for supper and too late to return to his games.

Card 2. It is springtime, and a girl does not want to go to school. Her older sister sympathizes with her, but her brother is

⁶ H. A. Murray, *Thematic apperception test* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943).

indifferent. She goes to school, although she does not wish to do so; and she returns home late in the afternoon. She is glad the day is over. She sits down with her family around the table and discusses the next day's activities.

Card 7. A young man and his friends are driving fast as a form of sport and entertainment. They are stopped by a policeman and given a warning. The young man returns home and tells his story to his father, who listens in a kindly way as he tries to learn what might have been the reason for the incident. But the father is stern enough to induce resentment in the young man. The father feels that he has done his duty by listening to the story. The young man is unhappy that he has been subjected to even this small amount of paternal discipline, and he becomes solemn.

Card 8. A boy and his sister are outdoors climbing trees when she falls and breaks her arm. Frightened and worried, the boy tells his parents, who then take her to a doctor. The boy is relieved to see her so quickly helped, and he thinks of becoming a doctor. He dreams of being at an anatomy lecture in medical school. Later he forgets about his dream, but it returns occasionally to influence him slightly in forming his vocational plans during the years that follow.

Card 4. A man on his day off goes to a local bar and meets his mistress. His girl friend walks past and sees them without their knowing that they have been discovered. He returns to his room, and his girl visits him. After learning that she saw him, he does not know whether to tell her to stay or to leave. She leaves in order to enable him to make up his mind about her. He does not make a decision but will leave the choice with her in the end.

Card 9. Four hobos walk along the road. They have no money and are offered jobs husking corn. They decide to work for just one day. They work in the morning, have lunch, and then lie down to rest while waiting for one o'clock in order to return to work in the fields. They finish the day, are paid, and resume their endless journey from town to town.

Card 13. Story one. A man leaves in the morning to work in an aircraft plant. He leaves his wife asleep at home. She wakes feeling ill and too weak to rise. Late in the afternoon she dies. He returns and finds her. He feels remorseful, wondering what he had done. He calls the minister and arranges for her funeral. Eventually he recovers from her death.

Story two. A girl goes to a bar and meets a man. She takes him home with her and sleeps with him. As the man is leaving, her father arrives from afar to visit her. Her father sees how she is

living, obtains another place for her to live, finds a job for her, and straightens out her life. He then returns home.

Story three. A married man and a young girl are seeing each other regularly. At last they go to her apartment and make love. Afterward he feels regretful, leaves, takes a long walk, decides that this is not the answer to his problem. He stops seeing her.

Card 6. A young man has been looking for work for three weeks when at last he finds a job and returns home to tell his mother. She is appalled because the owner of the company he is working for was disliked by her late husband. Her son feels put upon by her attitude. He decides not to keep the job and to look for another one.

Card 14. A young writer wanders around town, walking through the park, visiting the docks, and generally enjoying a fine spring day. He returns home and takes a nap. He then starts writing, and his product pleases him very much. He has cocktails and a good dinner, attends a show, returns home, and sits at the open window, looking out at the stars and thinking of what a very good day it has been. He then goes to sleep.

Card 12. Two boys go to their last class in psychology where they are told about hypnotism. Interested, they practice after dinner and succeed. They are pleased to have found something new and interesting.

Card 18. A private detective finds a lead to the whereabouts of two criminals, and he then goes to the library to do further research on the case. He visits the area where they might be found, and they jump him in the dark. He shakes loose and manages to subdue them enough to break away without their discovering his identity. The next day he returns and captures them.

Card 3. A boy is outdoors playing with his friends when he is attacked and beaten by another boy. He returns home feeling like an outcast. He sits at home dejected until he hears his mother come. Then he pulls himself together, and she does not realize how he felt. He does not want to return outdoors to play. Later he re-establishes his position with his friends, but he is never able to do anything about the bully who beat him up.

Eric's TAT protocol is heavily loaded with evidence of his extreme passivity and submissiveness, of his tendency toward compliance and his acceptance of social constraint. He feels himself continuously imposed upon by others, by authorities and by social customs. He distinctly resents this imposition, but he does not resist. He would like to lead a life that is relatively free of inter-

ference from other people, free of responsibility and social demands, with opportunity for his own self-expression and the enjoyment of those creature comforts that can be enjoyed in private. He sees himself attacked, criticized, rejected, spied upon, and thwarted by others. He tries to make friends and tries to be co-operative, but his efforts in this direction meet with only slight success. He feels indecisive, regretful, and shameful. He sees his life as a relatively meaningless and fruitless day-to-day existence in which restrictions and requirements interfere with his almost child-like desire to play and enjoy nature.

CHAPTER 11

THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC PATTERN

The emotional dynamics of Eric's thinking can be traced fairly directly from his polydiagnostic map. When the analysis is geared to the outline of areas discussed in Chapters 1 through 3, the following characteristics of Eric's personality are suggested.

Feelings of insecurity (1·3). Eric's pattern of motivation indicates his relatively greater desire for self-enhancement than for social acceptance. In addition, there is evidence that his de-emphasis of gregariousness stems mainly from his conflict over having to subjugate himself to social regulation in order to gain social acceptance. Note here his desire to be free ++, and his relative disinterest in being popular —, or prominent —, even though he wishes to be loved +. Eric's broad need for a sense of security through personal achievement and adequacy is evidenced by his desire to be secure ++, healthy ++, successful +, great +, and not useless — or sick —.

Although Eric does indicate his willingness to reject the social environment, he apparently cannot tolerate the idea that other people might reject him because of his own personal inadequacies. He is willing to be bad ++ and disliked ++, but would not like to be disgusting — or peculiar —.

As evidence that Eric's general desire for a feeling of security is not being satisfied, he feels unhappy ++, miserable ++, and desperate +, not contented —, merry —, or joyful —. But, as partial evidence that he is not being driven to deep despair, he feels cheerful +, not sad —, gloomy —, or wretched —.

Feelings of personal inadequacy (1·5·1). Eric experiences considerable doubt concerning his own adequacy and ability to survive environmental threats. He is engaged in a monumental struggle in attempting to conceal this doubt both from himself consciously and from others. His effort at concealment is not completely successful but tends rather to produce a pattern of consciously conflicting and ambivalent feelings in this vital area of personal adequacy. The kernel of consistency in this otherwise inconsistent attitude is that Eric feels himself adequate in an abstract and idealistic sense with-

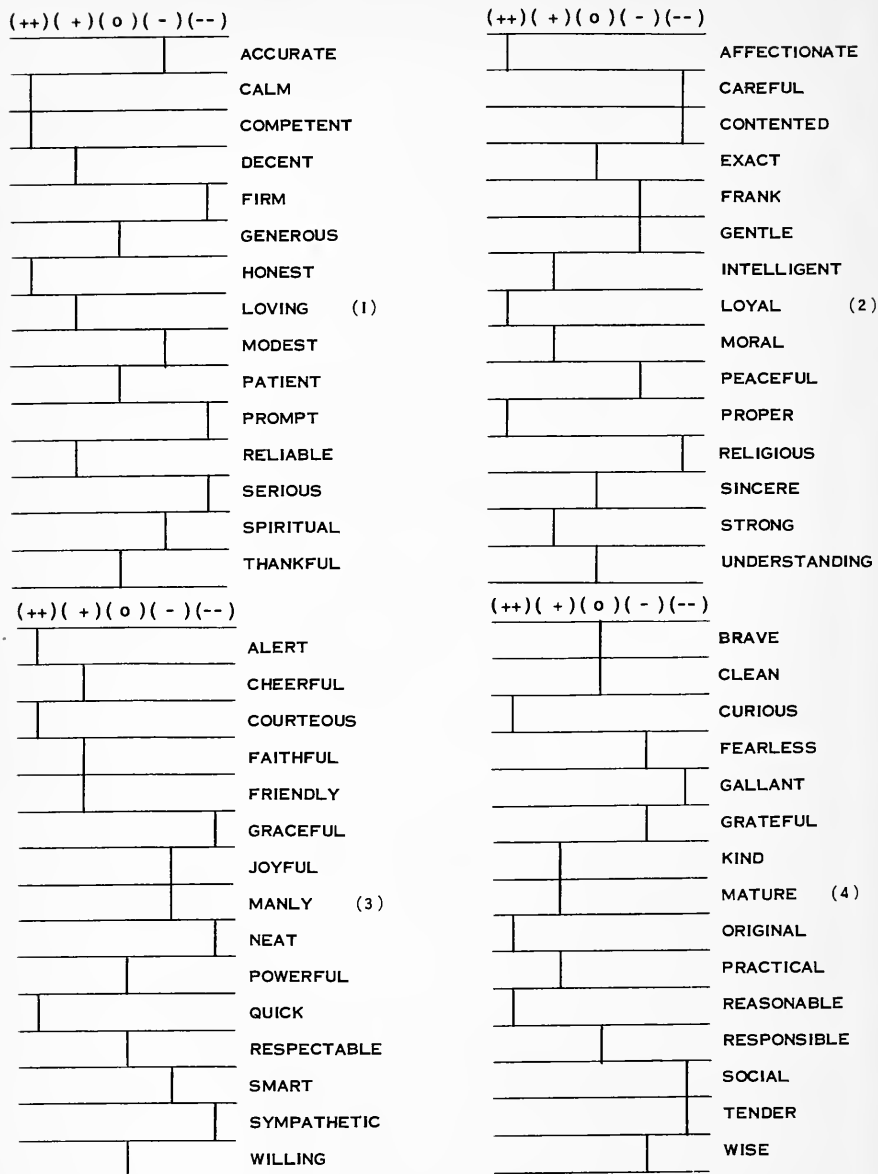
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 11-1. Polydiagnostic profile of Eric Riddal.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ACTIVE
	AMBITIOUS
	BRILLIANT
	CAPABLE
	EARNEST
	HAPPY
	MERRY
	NORMAL
	PURE
	SANE
	SENSIBLE
	SKILLFUL
	STABLE
	STEADY
	UPRIGHT

(5)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANGRY
	BITTER
	CHILDISH
	EVIL
	FEEBLE
	GLOOMY
	HASTY
	JEALOUS
	LOUD
	RECKLESS
	SAVAGE
	SILLY
	STUPID
	VAIN
	WEARY

(7)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ATHLETIC
	COMMERCIAL
	DEMOCRATIC
	DOMESTIC
	ECONOMIC
	EXECUTIVE
	INDIVIDUALISTIC
	INDUSTRIAL
	INTERNATIONAL
	MECHANICAL
	PROFESSIONAL
	RADICAL
	REVOLUTIONARY
	SCIENTIFIC
	TECHNICAL

(6)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ANXIOUS
	CARELESS
	CLUMSY
	FALSE
	FOOLISH
	GREEDY
	HELPLESS
	LAZY
	LYING
	ROUGH
	SELFISH
	SLOW
	TIMID
	VIOLENT
	WICKED

(8)

Fig. 11-1 continued.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	ASHAMED
	CHEAP
	CRUEL
	FEARFUL
	FIERCE
	GUILTY
	HOSTILE
	LONESOME (9)
	NERVOUS
	RUDE
	SHALLOW
	STUBBORN
	UNCERTAIN
	VULGAR
	WILD

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BACKWARD
	CRAZY
	DANGEROUS
	DESPERATE
	DULL
	IGNORANT
	MAD
	MISERABLE (10)
	ODD
	SAD
	SORRY
	UNHAPPY
	UNWHOLESOME
	WRETCHED
	WRONG

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH THE MOTIVE SYSTEM.

DESIRABLE POSITIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BEAUTIFUL
	FAMOUS
	FREE
	GREAT
	HANDSOME
	HEALTHY
	IMPORTANT
	LOVED (11)
	LUCKY
	POPULAR
	PROMINENT
	RICH
	SAFE
	SECURE
	SUCCESSFUL

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE STATES.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	AFRAID
	BAD
	BLIND
	DISGUSTING
	DISLIKED
	HUNGRY
	INFERIOR
	LAME (12)
	LONELY
	LOST
	PECULIAR
	POOR
	SICK
	UGLY
	USELESS

Fig. 11-1 continued.

CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH HAPPINESS AND SATISFACTION.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	BOLD
	CONSERVATIVE
	DEFINITE
	DIFFERENT
	FORMAL
	HUMBLE
	LIBERAL
	MYSTERIOUS (13)
	PARTICULAR
	PROUD
	RESTLESS
	SHARP
	SIMPLE
	SOLEMN
	SUSPICIOUS

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	CLEVER
	CRITICAL
	DELICATE
	DIRECT
	FUNNY
	INDEPENDENT
	MENTAL
	NATURAL (14)
	PASSIONATE
	QUIET
	SENSITIVE
	SHREWD
	SMOOTH
	STERN
	SWEET

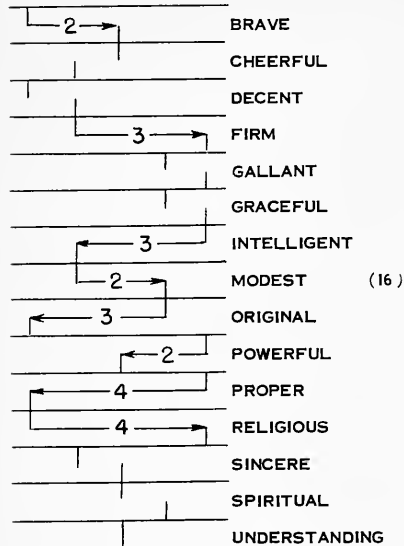
(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)

	COLD
	CUNNING
	DEPENDENT
	DISTANT
	HARD
	INNOCENT
	MODERN (15)
	OLD-FASHIONED
	PROGRESSIVE
	REMOTE
	SEVERE
	SHY
	SOFT
	STRICT
	YOUTHFUL

Fig. 11-1 continued.

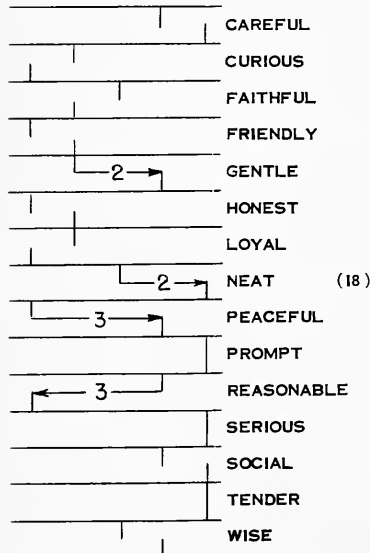
CHARACTERISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



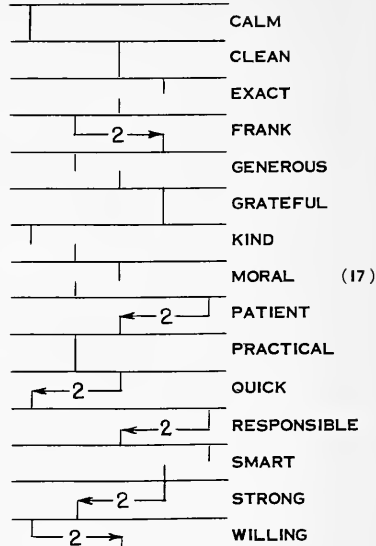
(16)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



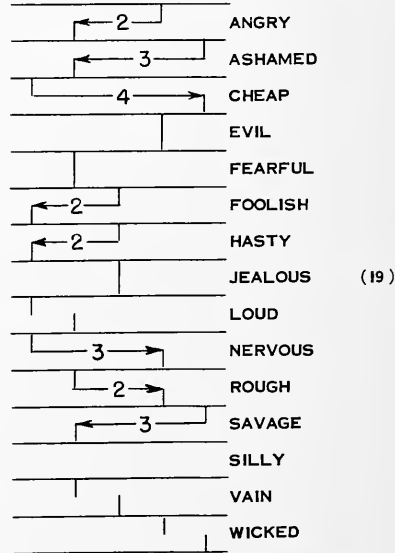
(18)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(17)

(++) (+) (o) (-) (--)



(19)

TOP SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC IS ASSOCIATED WITH PEOPLE IN GENERAL
 BOTTOM SCORE AS THE CHARACTERISTIC WAS PREVIOUSLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE SELF.

Fig. 11-1 continued.

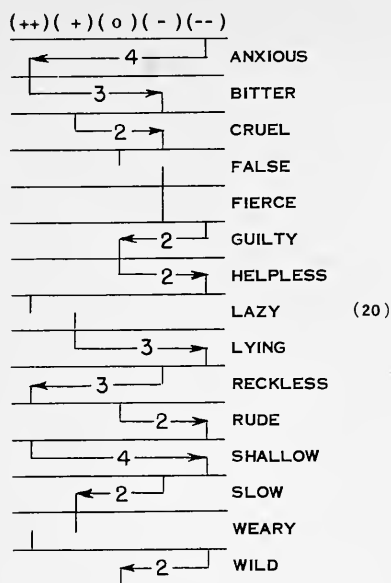


Fig. 11-1 concluded.

out being able to convince himself that he is, in fact, capable in real and specific ways. Often, as he struggles to cast an acceptable image, his doubts creep through to destroy the positive picture.

For example, Eric feels that he is alert ++, but also hasty ++; quick ++, but also reckless ++; active +, but at the same time lazy + and slow +. He feels that he is sensible ++, but also foolish ++; practical +, but also backward +. He feels that he is stable +, but not steady --. He feels that he is intelligent +, and not ignorant -; but he also feels that he is not brilliant -, wise -, or smart -. He feels strong +, but not manly -.

The effort at distortion can be seen best through Eric's feeling competent ++, capable ++, reliable + and mature +, not childish - or silly -. The undercurrent of inadequacy appears in his feeling clumsy ++ and careless +, not accurate -, skillful -, or careful --.

Feelings of environmental hostility (1.5.2). Eric tends to see little in the nature of serious hostility in his environment. He conceives of other people as relatively pleasant and nice, weak and frightened. His feelings of environmental friendliness are evidenced by his feeling that others are decent ++, kind ++, willing ++, friendly ++, peaceful ++, generous +, gentle +, loyal +, and sincere +, although he also feels that they are not gallant -, or tender --. He does not see others as wild --, savage --, powerful --, strong -, angry -, evil -, wicked -,

fierce —, reckless —, although he does see them as rough + and cruel +.

Self-anxiety and society-anger (1·8·1). Eric experiences an appreciable degree of both overt anger and anxiety carried fairly close to the surface of his personality, as he indicates with his feeling anxious ++, fearful +, angry +, savage +, and hostile +, not fearless —, gentle —, or peaceful —.

From his pattern of feelings it would appear that Eric directs some of his feelings of anger outward toward others. At the same time he does not release this outwardly focused anger by means of aggressive behavior; rather, he tends to keep it pent-up. Note especially his feeling himself dangerous ++ and savage +, but not cruel —, rough —, or fierce —.

Eric seems to accept his potential for rage against others and is not troubled to any great extent by this tendency within his own personality. Note here his not feeling wicked —, unwholesome —, cheap —, or evil —. His major concern appears to be focused on his own inability to establish adequate social relations and adequate channels for his personal gratification. Note here his feeling lonesome ++, reckless ++, uncertain ++, and backward +.

Eric feels anger toward others, but he is able to control this anger. His control comes from a healthy liking for others, as evidenced by his feeling affectionate ++, loyal ++, courteous ++, loving +, faithful +, friendly +, and kind +. It does not come from his fear or anxiety over social punishment and hostility. As a result, he need not fear his own potential for hostile action, but only his inability to establish the friendly social relations that he craves but cannot achieve. The net affect is a sense of worthlessness more than a sense of immorality, a sense of shame more than a sense of guilt.

Self-anger and society-anxiety (1·8·2). Eric does not greatly fear his society, and this lack of anxiety probably results from his tendency to see other people as not dangerous and therefore not worthy of his fearing them. As a result, his self-focused hostility is not an outgrowth of his fear but merely reflects his feeling his own inadequacies and inability to gain satisfaction. For example, he is critical of his being clumsy ++, foolish ++, stubborn ++, and careless +, not manly —, smart —, careful —, or steady —.

Integration of anxiety and anger (1·9). Eric appears to have few, if any, of the feelings toward others that one comes to expect from either the neurotic or the prepsychotic adult. His feelings about other people tend to elicit neither great fear nor

great anger, although more anger than fear. Any anger directed toward others, however, tends to originate with his feeling that other people are simply incapable of supplying the types of stimulation and satisfaction he craves. It is not that others are dangerous and to be feared or that they are deliberately thwarting and thus worthy of open attack. Rather, they are accidentally thwarting as a result of their own inadequacies; therefore, while eliciting his feelings of anger, they do not warrant aggressive reprisal. This pattern of his feelings is evidenced in many ways; for example, he feels that others are shallow ++, cheap ++, loud ++, lazy ++, and weary +, not intelligent —, original —, reasonable —, or social —. On the other hand, they are friendly ++, peaceful ++, loyal +, and gentle +.

His attitudes toward himself are somewhat more troubled. He does not feel the need to hate or fear himself because of his fear or hate of others. But to some extent he does fear and hate himself for his inability to find the life he seeks, a life that will probably never exist but that he idealistically seeks nevertheless. The evidence of Eric's lack of socially oriented anxiety and anger suggests that he is more of a social psychopath than either a neurotic or a prepsychotic.

Distortion of self-awareness (2·2·2). Eric shows a distinct lack of obsessive-compulsive feelings. He is inclined away from the precise and accurate social conduct that characterizes compulsivity. Note here his feeling clumsy ++, reckless ++, hasty ++, and careless +, not accurate —, skillful —, careful —, steady —, prompt —, or serious —.

He feels some slight neurasthenic tendency. Although he feels alert ++, quick ++, and active +, he also feels weary ++, lazy +, and slow +. This inclination does not flow into hypochondriasis, for, although he does feel miserable ++, Eric does not feel wretched —, helpless —, feeble —, nervous —, or gloomy —. There is no indication of a predisposition toward hysterical conversion.

In general, the pattern of feelings suggests that Eric has few, if any, neurotic symptoms. Any neurasthenic symptoms seem less a result of his emotional conflict than a result of his lack of strong motivation to perform and conform. Any tendency toward an appearance of hypochondriac or hysterical symptomatology seems evidence more of psychopathic malingering than of neurotic reaction.

Limitation of social-awareness (2·4·1). Eric feels himself close to people on an emotional and personal level, separate from them

only in a formal and socially organized way. This distinguishes him from the prepsychotic, who fears people and tends to withdraw from them emotionally prior to his social withdrawal in a more formal sense. Note here Eric's feeling that he is affectionate ++, loyal ++, proper ++, courteous ++, decent +, loving +, reliable +, moral +, faithful +, and friendly +, although not spiritual —, religious —, gallant —, or social —.

Evaluative tendencies (3·4). Whatever difficulties Eric experiences in drawing gratification from his life, there seems to be no reason to attribute these to either neurotic or prepsychotic defenses stemming from conflict and anxiety. The pattern of his feelings suggests that Eric can tolerate most of his anxiety except that related to his own inadequacies. The pattern also suggests that he can accept without concern his own social deviation. Eric's failures seem to pass over him, leaving him with little more than an increased concern over his inability to improve his life. But even so there is evidence that, no matter how inadequate Eric sometimes feels, he is not highly motivated to correct his situation.

The evidence of a lack of neurotic and prepsychotic tendencies, combined with the evidence of a noncompulsive and nonconforming attitude-pattern, suggests that Eric's problems may fall into the broad class called *character disorders*. Here is a man with coping mechanisms that simply do not work. The questions are: why do his normal pathways for dealing with situations fail him, and why does he fail to change as a result of such recurrent failure?

We have already noted partial answers to these questions. For one, Eric thinks of other people as much too nice really to hurt him. He also sees himself as basically a fine fellow who should not be criticized too strongly, except for what he sees as his minor lack of accuracy and precision in dealing with situations.

Added to this, from Eric's pattern of values it is clear that he is most strongly opposed to conventionalism. He does not believe that a person should be formal —, humble —, particular —, stern —, or sweet —. He accepts only the idea of being innocent + and strict +. It would appear that this is another source of Eric's difficulties. For, although a majority of pathways to success and achievement must be, by definition, conventional, Eric rejects these as unworthy.

Otherwise his value system is varied and diversified. He believes a person should be pragmatically bold ++ and passionate ++, progressive ++, and realistically natural ++.

On the opposite side, he believes a person should not be

traditionally simple —, nor should he be realistically critical —, or pragmatically hard —.

One other difficulty appears within Eric's value system. When we take just his extreme feelings, we find that Eric believes in being bold ++ and sharp ++; mental ++ and mysterious ++; natural ++, youthful ++, and passionate ++; modern ++ and progressive ++. He believes that a person should not be suspicious —, critical —, stern —, cold —, hard —, or severe —. At the same time a person should not be humble —, simple —, or sweet —.

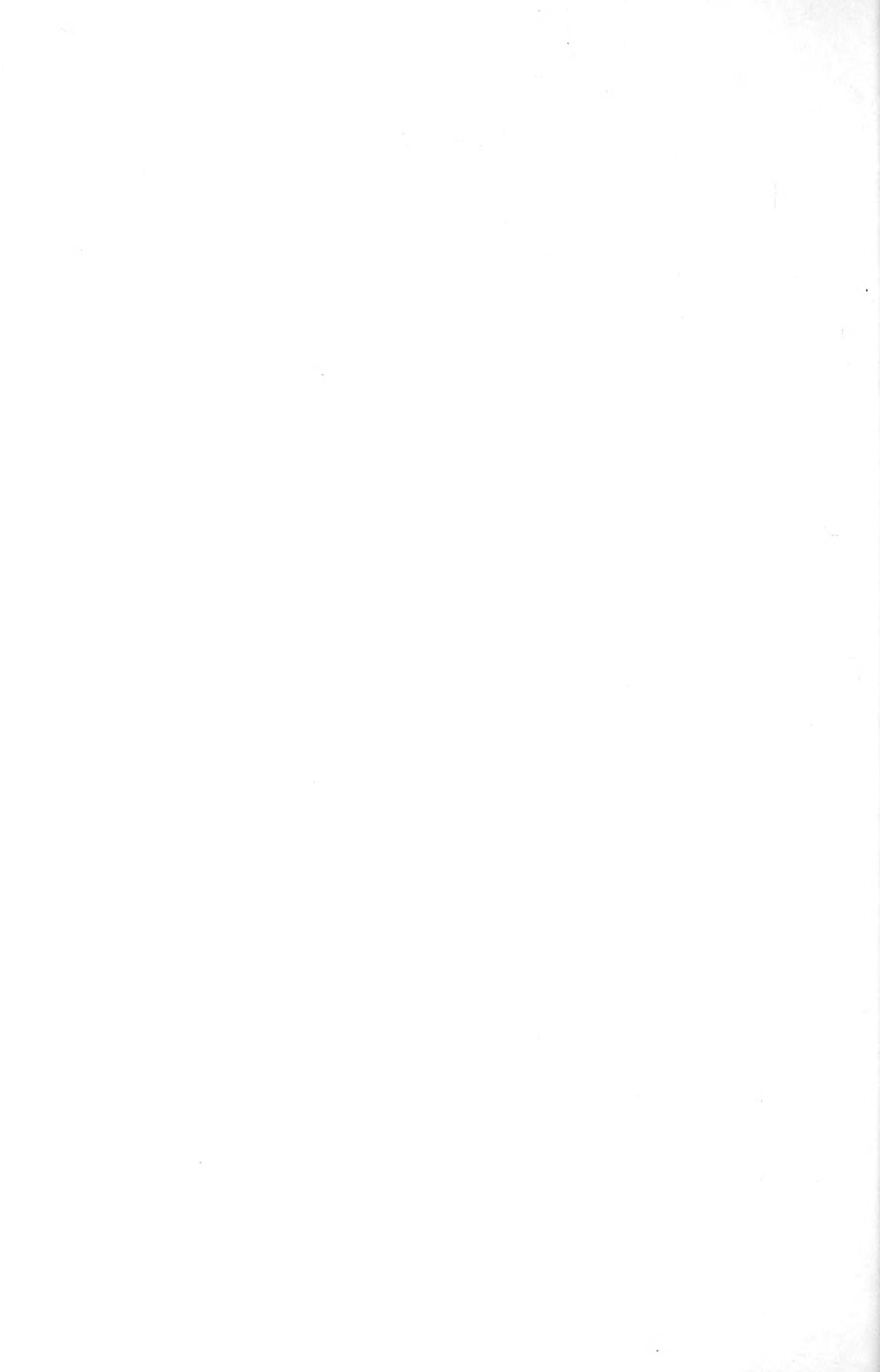
In combination, these values appear quite idealistic and fanciful. He rejects some of the major qualities of the successful, independent adult male—that is, being critical, cold, hard, severe, stern, and suspicious. He also rejects some major values of the compliant and dependent person—that is, being humble, simple, and sweet. The extent to which this particular value pattern is conflicting within itself is accented when we note that he feels that a person should be both independent + and dependent +.

In overview, Eric tends to see himself as a powerful and intelligent person, stronger, more reasonable, and more creative than others. His motives include, among others, the desires for freedom and greatness. His value system is that of an adolescent, filled with idealistic and immature impressions of the ways to gain happiness and satisfaction. With an unrealistic picture of both his own aggressive potential and his own compassionate benevolence, with an unrealistic image of the weakness of others, and with unrealistic desires and immature values, Eric lives the dreams of a throneless king, a would-be giant among mortals who have not yet recognized his worth. As life escapes him, he feels hurt and confused, for he finds no reasonable explanation, except, perhaps, the fact that he may have, through his lack of care, missed his opportunity.



Part V

Polydiagnostic Research



CHAPTER 12

THE METHOD OF ASSESSMENT ¹

Originally the polydiagnostic method was structured for the assessment of thought and personality as they relate to psychological and psychiatric diagnosis for clinical, industrial, and educational purposes. In the course of development, however, it proved to be applicable to a variety of other social-science research purposes. It has been applied to public opinion, attitude and mood polling, consumer motivation studies, political science, and small-group research. As a result of the original objectives and the additional applications, two fairly different concepts of the method have evolved. We shall call these simply *standard* and *specialized* methods.

The standard method is designed to tap empirically scorable associations which the individual has with his self concept, his motive system, his value system and with his concept of the social environment or generalized other. In specialized form, the method has been used to tap aspects of the subject's attitudes, moods, stereotypes, and so forth as they relate to a variety of objects, persons, situations, or conditions. For example:

Attitudes. "Pick the three words that you feel describe: Wheazies soap, your mother, Negroes, Democrats, gossips; the most (least)."

Moods. "Pick the three words that describe how you feel when you: travel by airplane, speak to your boss, see a sunset; the most (least)."

Stereotypes. "Pick the three words that describe the way people in general feel: when they travel by airplane, about Negroes, when they lose their job; the most (least)."

The foundations for analysis are the twenty separate sets of fifteen words each. These specific words, ordered as they are in the

¹ Chapters 12 and 13 are abstracted from three technical papers: E. M. Bennett, The polydiagnostic method: A technique for multi-variate social and clinical research. *J. of Psychol.*, 1956, 42, 207-15; E. M. Bennett, L. R. Cohen, and D. K. Kemler, Preliminary standardization of the polydiagnostic index. *J. of Psychol.*, 1957, 43, 307-24; E. M. Bennett, Empirical aspects of polydiagnostic research. *J. of Psychol.*, 1957, 44, 251-69.

specific sets, constitute the subject's diagnostic language. He must at all times use these sets in a predetermined manner to answer any specific questions placed to him for the purposes of diagnosis or research.

The selection of words and their combinations to constitute these twenty sets was based on a number of empirical and rational criteria. These criteria included, among others, a level of common familiarity. Familiarity with the terms was partially evidenced by their relatively high Thorndike-Lorge word frequencies, as outlined in Table 12-1. Thorndike and Lorge suggests that words at this level be taught at the school grade six or lower.

TABLE 12-1

PERCENTAGE OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC INDEX WORDS AS A FUNCTION
OF THEIR FREQUENCY OF COMMON USAGE *

Occurrence per million words in reading matter	Percentage of BPI words †
100 or over	12.3
50 to 99	28.3
40 to 49	9.0
30 to 39	15.0
20 to 29	20.0
10 to 19	15.3
0 to 9	0.0
	100.0

* See Thorndike, E. L., & Lorge, I. *The teacher's word book of 30,000 words*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944.

† N equals 300.

The twenty basic sets vary as to social connotation. Some are positive, others negative or bimodal. The words with positive connotations (sets 1-6, 11, 16-18) are all selected on evidence of being socially acceptable and encouraged qualities of thinking, feeling, or being. The negatively connoted sets (7-10, 12, 19-20) contain items of an opposite nature, customarily considered socially unacceptable qualities. Bimodal sets (13-15) contain words that depend to a large extent on the person or situation for their connotative direction. These words may be considered good or bad, as the case may be.

The words also vary in level of abstraction. Some lists are highly specific, others more general. There is also a variability in level of reality. Some lists are descriptive of fairly actual and realistic states; others reflect more idealistic states of feeling or being.

When these and a variety of less important criteria had been met, there were still considerably more than 225 items of common usage available for set assignment. The two ultimate criteria for the establishment of the final sets then became test-retest precision and clinical diagnostic potential. The first was handled empirically; the second was a matter of personal judgment and experience.

In addition to the fixed sets, the way in which the subject manipulates these sets is fixed, independent of the purpose of the investigation. The method of answering is always the same. Only the nature of the question is structured in line with the nature of the investigation.

The responses that the subject must make are made under stress. For many subjects and many conditions, the stress is very high—so high that occasionally subjects refuse to continue if the administration is handled without sophistication.

Work with earlier, less stressful forms of the method suggests that diagnostic value is enhanced by the high ego-involvement and stress of the present arrangement. The subject is pulled into the administration, held there, permitted to throw up his defenses, but then kept to a large extent from using them.

One of the major sources of the ego-involvement and stress is the way in which the set and instruction valences are combined. Instructions will always have either a positive or a negative valence. For example, "Choose the three words that you feel describe xxx the most" is a positive instruction. If we had said, "describe xxx the least," it would have been a negative instruction. The sets also have a valence as previously noted.

Positive instructions should accompany negative or bimodal sets when dealing with culturally positive objects (such as the self, one's own society, etc.). Negative instructions should accompany positive sets under the same conditions. If we reverse the object (questions about an enemy society, an opposed outgroup, etc.), the instructions for positive and negative sets are reversed: positive with positive, negative with negative. Bimodal sets still retain positive instructions. The reliability of response, the stress and ego-involvement of administration, and the clinical value of the findings appear to depend on the valences of the set and instructions combined in this manner.

Occasionally such combinations of valence are so intolerable to subjects that the research cannot progress. For example, some people apparently will not select the three words that most describe their mother when all fifteen words are of strong negative connotation. Under such conditions we have been forced to go along with

the subject's stress-reducing tendencies, permitting the research to follow more traditional lines. Subjects will more readily pick the three "bad" words that least describe their mother. Preliminary evidence suggests that a price is paid for such compliance.

This stressful administration is felt to be a unique aspect of the method. However, stressful responses can be easily distorted if verbalized. Therefore, the polydiagnostic method requires no verbal responses from the subject.

One experimental form, the set form, consisted of the twenty sets of words bound between covers. At the edges of the covers were bound fifteen little tabs, numbered appropriately from 1 to 15. When the subject used this form he selected his three words and covered them with the appropriate tabs. The subject says nothing. The administrator asks the questions and copies the numbers from the selected tabs, in order of choice. (See Chapter 5, Figures 5-1 and 5-2.)

Another experimental form, the booklet form, consisted of the standard diagnostic instructions bound together with the lists and general directions. The subject marked his answers on a removable answer sheet. There is no verbal communication. For use with specialized instructions, new instructions were cemented over the old ones, using the same booklet.

In all cases, the project determines the types of questions used and the modes of data analysis. However, in all work to date we have held to the standard sets and to the standard mode of questioning (three items five times). We have used the standard sets without alteration for a number of reasons. First, these sets have known test-retest precision. Second, standardization appears to give a standard multivariate yardstick by which research in widely differing fields can be compared, using the same frame of reference, in dimensions that any other investigator can check empirically.

The standard sets of terms have been translated into French, Flemish, German, and Spanish by foreign nationals expert in the field of linguistics. Every effort has been made to convert the English terms into foreign terms with the same personal meaning, the same general emotional feeling for the user. These translations are included in Appendix III (page 253). With instructions translated to establish the appropriate frame of reference for specific classes of subjects in other cultures, these matched terms can be used as a mode for empirical cross-cultural comparisons. Such comparisons might then suggest, among other things, empirical differences in personality structure associated with differences in cultural heritage.

CHAPTER 13

EMPIRICAL ASPECTS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Fundamentally, the polydiagnostic method is a technique by which subjects form associations using a multiple forced-choice procedure. The procedure is as follows: The individual or individuals under study (k subjects) are presented with a standardized set or series of sets of fifteen descriptive adjectives each (n terms). Each subject is asked to describe something by selecting three of the fifteen adjectives. The subject is then again asked to describe the same objective by selecting three more terms from the twelve remaining. He then is asked to select three from the remaining nine, then three from the six left over, leaving three residual.

The subject may be asked to describe a feeling, a person, a place, an object, etc. Anything that can be described by descriptive adjectives can be assessed in this manner. Repetitive administration may be used to obtain similar data on as many objectives (m referents) as desired.

The first three terms selected are coded A . The next three are coded B , the next three C , the next three D , and the three remaining E . Each of the fifteen terms is thus assigned to one of the five clusters (h alphabetical groups).

The process by which a subject deals with a set of terms is in the nature of pure counting. He counts out three terms, then another three, and so forth. Since it is a counting process, cardinal numbers can be attached to each of the alphabetical groups. These cardinal numbers have a very rigorous meaning. They rise by *equal intervals of three terms each* from a zero point of the least descriptive three terms.

Under some conditions the subject may be asked to choose those terms that describe the referent *the most*. Under these conditions the first three terms, the A terms, are each scored +4, the B terms +3, the C terms +2, the D terms +1, and the three terms left unchosen, the E terms, are scored 0.

Under other conditions the subject may be asked to choose those terms that describe the referent *the least*. Now the scoring is re-

versed; the first three terms chosen, the *A* terms, are scored 0, the *B*'s +1, the *C*'s +2, the *D*'s +3, and the *E*'s +4.

Because of the cardinality of the number process, it is acceptable to use cardinal statistics for the analysis of the quantitative data. However, it is not acceptable to use cardinal statistics to infer a cardinal progression of intensity in the underlying human dynamics. For example, one can speak of one mean score for an item as "significantly greater" than another mean score for the same item, having calculated means, variances, and a Student's *t*. Such a statement would indicate (at some level of confidence) that, on the average, the first sample had assigned the item to alphabetical groups closer to the *most descriptive* group. This is a rigorous statement, but it does not presuppose a cardinal increase in the human dynamics underlying this difference in choice.

Because of the relative lack of data on whether thought processes can be treated in cardinal measurement terms, there is a certain danger in using an assessment technique designed to work at a cardinal level of numbers. To reduce this danger, we have adopted a probabilistic language when drawing inferences concerning thinking, feeling, or personality from the empirical data.

This means that polydiagnostic evidence may be treated by both advanced algebraic and statistical methods. But, when the analysis is completed, the inferences drawn concerning thought processes cannot be as rigorous as the empirical data.

The rectilinear distribution is the theoretical model for chance operation on a polydiagnostic item. Any single item is chosen in competition with fourteen other items. Assuming that no rational forces operate, there is an equal probability that this item will be selected for any of the five score groups. Therefore, strictly on the basis of chance for any group of subjects, we might expect an equal number of people to score this item in each of the five possible ways. As such, the chance distribution would be rectilinear—equal in all score positions.

Knowing this chance distribution, it is possible to calculate the mean and the variance of the chance theoretical population. The mean score on the basis of chance is +2.00. The variance of the chance distribution is 2.

Although the chance distribution of scores is rectilinear, the distribution of sample means drawn from this chance population would closely approximate the normal distribution for a sample size of four or larger.¹

¹ W. A. Shewhart, *Economic control of quality of manufactured product* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1931).

Knowing the theoretical population mean and variance, and working with a normal distribution for the distribution of means, we can establish confidence limits and test for the significance of the difference between any obtained item mean and the theoretical mean (+2.00). Using this approach we have determined the confidence limits for experimentally obtained item means from samples of various sizes.

TABLE 13-1
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT ITEM MEANS

Sample size	Critical levels*					
	+0.01	+0.05	+0.10	-0.10	-0.05	-0.01
1,000	2.10	2.09	2.06	1.94	1.91	1.90
500	2.15	2.13	2.08	1.92	1.87	1.85
400	2.17	2.14	2.09	1.91	1.86	1.83
300	2.18	2.16	2.10	1.90	1.84	1.82
200	2.23	2.20	2.13	1.87	1.80	1.77
150	2.27	2.23	2.15	1.85	1.77	1.73
100	2.33	2.28	2.18	1.82	1.72	1.67
90	2.35	2.29	2.19	1.81	1.71	1.65
80	2.37	2.31	2.20	1.80	1.69	1.63
70	2.39	2.33	2.22	1.78	1.67	1.61
60	2.43	2.36	2.23	1.77	1.64	1.57
50	2.47	2.39	2.25	1.75	1.61	1.53
40	2.52	2.43	2.29	1.71	1.57	1.48
30	2.60	2.50	2.33	1.67	1.50	1.40
20	2.74	2.62	2.40	1.60	1.38	1.26
15	2.85	2.72	2.47	1.53	1.28	1.15
10	3.04	2.88	2.57	1.43	1.12	0.96
9	3.09	2.92	2.60	1.40	1.08	0.91
8	3.17	2.98	2.64	1.34	1.02	0.83
7	3.26	3.05	2.69	1.31	0.95	0.74
6	3.34	3.13	2.74	1.26	0.87	0.66
5	3.47	3.24	2.81	1.19	0.76	0.53
4	3.64	3.39	2.90	1.10	0.61	0.36

*Significantly larger or smaller than the chance mean of +2.00 at the indicated level of confidence. One tail test.

$$\bar{x} = 2 \pm z \sqrt{\frac{2}{N}}$$

A table of polydiagnostic mean scores significantly different from chance at various confidence levels is presented as Table 13-1. This table can be used either to determine the magnitude of the mean necessary for significance in a sample of a given size, or to determine the sample size for research in which means of a predicted magnitude would also be statistically significant.

In addition to information about the mean, it may be important to know if the experimental group has a significantly homogeneous response to an item. In other words, is the item scored in approximately the same way by most members of the group? To evidence

this, the variance of the item should be significantly smaller than could be expected on the basis of chance.

Since the chance distribution of scores is rectilinear, it is necessary to justify the use of the F distribution when testing for the significance of the difference of an experimental variance from the chance variance, since the F distribution assumes a normally distributed population. A recent empirical study by Norton,² discussed in detail by Lindquist,³ suggests that remarkably little error is introduced into the F test by extreme deviation of the parent population from normalcy. Using a rectilinear distribution in one study, Norton determined that only 6.07 percent of the F ratios fell beyond the expected 5.00 percent point, 3.24 percent beyond the 2.50 percent point, and 1.63 percent beyond the 1.00 percent point.

The cutting lines for a variance significantly smaller than the chance variance of 2 are indicated in Table 13.2. The table is based on the F distribution at the 2.5 percent level of confidence, but should be treated as suggesting confidence at the 5 percent level. This safety factor carries the confidence limit beyond the 3.24 percent determined by Norton.

Tables 13-1 and 13-2 may serve as aids for testing the significance of the absolute difference of any item mean and variance from chance. This is an absolute analysis independent of any comparative data.

Often, however, there are data from various control and experimental groups to be compared. Or, within the same group there are data for different referents, different conditions, or even different items to be compared. Under these conditions the chance distribution is irrelevant. The means may be compared by the use of any cardinal statistics for which the data approximate the necessary assumptions. Means may be compared by use of the t distribution, means and variances by use of the F distribution.

Preliminary research has shown that in some cases findings are apparently so clear-cut that many significant differences can be obtained with samples as low as $N = 10$. However, experimental sensitivity in the assessment of groups is enhanced by the use of relatively large samples of subjects, a large number of polydiagnostic items in configuration, and a variety of referents. Small sample research is suggested only where preliminary data are required to outline the general areas in which differences are apparently operating.

² Dee W. Norton, An empirical investigation of some effects of non-normality and heterogeneity on the F -distribution. Ph.D. dissertation, State Univ. Iowa, 1952.

³ E. F. Lindquist, *Design and analysis of experiments in psychology and education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1953).

TABLE 13-2
SIGNIFICANTLY SMALL ITEM VARIANCES *

Degrees of freedom†	Variance	Standard deviation
∞	2.00	1.41
120	1.53	1.24
60	1.35	1.16
40	1.22	1.10
30	1.12	1.06
24	1.03	1.02
20	0.96	0.98
18	0.91	0.96
16	0.86	0.93
15	0.83	0.91
14	0.80	0.90
13	0.77	0.88
12	0.73	0.85
11	0.69	0.83
10	0.65	0.81
9	0.60	0.77
8	0.54	0.74
7	0.48	0.69
6	0.41	0.64
5	0.33	0.58
4	0.24	0.49
3	0.14	0.38

*Level of confidence 0.05.

†Number of cases minus one.

Various research designs call for the comparison of polydiagnostic responses under one condition with similar polydiagnostic responses under another condition. This type of analysis is useful for such purposes as:

1. Test (*i*)-retest (*j*) reliability for,
 - a.* one subject on *n* terms
 - b.* *k* subjects on one term
 - c.* *k* subjects on *n* terms
2. Pattern analysis of the agreement of data (*i*) with a predetermined pattern of scores (*j*) for,
 - a.* one subject's scores on *n* terms
 - b.* *k* subjects' scores on *n* terms
3. Similarity analysis of the description of one referent (*i*) with the description of another referent (*j*) for,
 - a.* one subject on *n* terms
 - b.* *k* subjects on one term
 - c.* *k* subjects on *n* terms

The general analysis is based on the matrix of scores formed by one array of scores (*i*) in comparison to another array of scores (*j*). These scores may be obtained from *k* subjects on *n* terms in respect

to m referents, and always appear in terms of the five alphabetical groups.

Relatively simple procedures can be used to obtain measures of the extent to which the two arrays of scores agree with each other. With test-retest scores, this agreement is evidence of reliability. With pattern or similarity analysis, agreement may give evidence of validity or predictability. The analysis may be based on the responses of different persons or groups or the responses of the same subjects in respect to different referents. For example, coefficients of similarity might be obtained for the evaluation of three different types of emotionally disturbed persons, using the same 150 terms to describe themselves and each of their parents.

A coefficient of correlation has a fairly conventional meaning. Usually such a coefficient gives some indication of the extent to which individuals in a group maintain their relative positions when measured in two different ways. The coefficient suggests the extent to which variations among subjects on the first measure are related to variations on the second measure. If all the scores change by the same absolute amount on the second measure, but the relative positions of the subjects stay the same, the coefficient is not reduced. In this respect the usual coefficient is an index of relative, not absolute, agreement.

There is a more rigorous test for agreement that can be applied when both measures are in terms of polydiagnostic scores. Rather than the coefficient reflecting relative agreement, it reflects only absolute agreement. A line of absolute agreement is fitted to the data. Deviations from this line then serve as the measure of disagreement.

If there were absolutely no difference from one array of scores to the other, then each A score on the i array would be paired with an A score on the j array. Similarly there would be only the pairs B_i-B_j , C_i-C_j , D_i-D_j , E_i-E_j .

On the matrix of scores this appears as the occurrence of only those pairs with no disagreement. However, other pairs may appear; and these would suggest disagreement, the extent of which would be determined by the position of the pairs on the matrix. The extent of such disagreement for each cell is indicated in [13.1].

d	A	B	^j C	D	E	
A	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	
B	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	
C	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	
D	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	
E	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	[13.1]

The disagreements represent degrees of dissimilarity of scores in terms of absolute shifts in alphabetical groups. The dexter diagonal represents the line of perfect agreement.

For any actual data there will be some degree of dissimilarity. This degree of dissimilarity can be evaluated by calculating the variance of the actual data from the line of perfect agreement. Referring to this variance as s_o^2 ,

$$s_o^2 = \frac{\sum f_{ij} d_{ij}^2}{N} \quad [13.2]$$

where d_{ij} are the various deviations, f_{ij} are the actual frequencies of occurrence of these deviations in the data, and N is the total number of cases. Note that the degrees of freedom are N , since the deviations are from a theoretical line established without restriction of the variation of the data themselves.

A certain degree of dissimilarity can be expected on the basis of chance. This degree of dissimilarity can be calculated as the variance of the distribution of deviations to be expected on the basis of chance. Referred to as s_t^2 ,

$$s_t^2 = p_{ij} d_{ij}^2, \quad [13.3]$$

where p_{ij} are the proportion of cases to be expected in the various cells on the basis of chance.

The proportions for the simplest chance distribution are indicated in [13.4].

	j					
	P	A	B	C	D	E
i	A	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	B	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	C	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	D	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	E	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

[13.4]

The variance is 4.00.

The chance distribution [13.4] applies whenever all categories of the i and j arrays are equally probable. This is the case, for example, when analyzing the data from k subjects on one item, since this one item has equal probability of appearing at all levels of i and j . It also applies when considering the data for one subject on n items, since each item has the same equal probability of appearing in each cell. In general, the distribution applies to k subjects and n items, when the i and j arrays both represent forms of data, as in the case of test-retest reliability studies or studies involving the comparison of two referents.

When one of the arrays represents a fixed pattern rather than data, the chance distributions can vary. (Consider the i array as the pattern.)

If the pattern contains equal numbers of items in each alphabetical category,

$$\begin{matrix} N_i = N_i = N_i = N_i = N_i, \\ A \quad B \quad C \quad D \quad E \end{matrix} \quad [13.5]$$

then the distribution of [13.4] applies. The various levels of the i array are defined as equal, since the i array represents the pattern of [13.5]. The various levels of the j array are all equally probable, since the j array represents data. This may be the case, for example, when the pattern is formed by the use of complete sets (fifteen items that appear together) of terms and the pattern meets the requirement of equal numbers in all alphabetical categories.

For some purposes, other patterns may be more useful. For example, it might be of advantage to assign more than three A 's within a set of terms; this special scoring can be used for arbitrary patterns, although it is not available to the subjects. Or, a pattern might contain only some items from each of a variety of sets, all of the other items being ignored in the pattern, although the subject must consider all of the items in responding. Under conditions such as these it is possible to have a wide variety of distributions in the i array. However, the j array is based on data obtained in a fixed manner; and the distribution of probabilities for all the levels of j , for any one level of i , must always be equal.

For example, the pattern might contain 25 A 's, 15 B 's, and 10 E 's. In this case the proportions for the chance distribution would be as indicated in [13.6].

	p	j				
		A	B	C	D	E
i	A	.10	.10	.10	.10	.10
	B	.06	.06	.06	.06	.06
	C	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	D	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	E	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04

[13.6]

A coefficient of similarity, r_s , can be determined in terms of the two variances, s_t^2 and s_o^2 ,

$$r_s = \sqrt{\frac{s_t^2 - s_o^2}{s_t^2}} \quad [13.7]$$

When the obtained variance equals the chance variance, the coefficient is equal to zero. When the obtained variance is zero (per-

fect agreement) the coefficient is unity. The square of the coefficient is a direct indication of the extent to which the obtained variance is less than the variance to be expected on the basis of chance; e.g., an $r_s^2 = .80$ indicates that the obtained variance is only 20 per cent as large as the chance variance. The coefficient then becomes a measure of similarity of the i and j arrays.

The magnitude of this coefficient can be tested for significance of difference from zero by means of the F distribution. The ratio

$$\frac{s_t^2}{s_o^2} = F(\infty, n_o) \quad [13.8]$$

TABLE 13-3
SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF SIMILARITY *

Degrees of freedom (N)	Level of confidence	
	.05	.01
∞	0.000	0.000
5,000	.197	.226
1,000	.293	.333
750	.314	.358
500	.346	.394
450	.355	.404
400	.366	.416
350	.378	.429
300	.392	.445
250	.409	.464
200	.431	.489
180	.443	.500
160	.455	.514
140	.469	.530
120	.487	.549
60	.570	.639
40	.624	.694
30	.663	.735
24	.695	.767
20	.721	.792
18	.737	.807
16	.754	.824
15	.763	.832
14	.773	.842
13	.784	.852
12	.796	.862
11	.808	.873
10	.821	.885
9	.837	.898
8	.853	.912
7	.871	.927
6	.891	.942
5	.913	.956
4	.938	.974
3	.963	.988
2	.987	.997
1	1.000	1.000

*Significantly greater than could be expected on the basis of chance. Chance variance = 4.00.

The chance variance s^2_t is treated as the parameter (degrees of freedom equal to infinity) and the F -test serves to determine whether the obtained variance, s^2_o , is significantly smaller than this chance variance. If the ratio, as expressed in [13.8], is significantly large at a given level of confidence, it suggests that the coefficient is significantly greater than could be expected on the basis of chance.

TABLE 13-4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE COEFFICIENTS OF SIMILARITY FOR THE
300 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC INDEX

Extent of the coefficient	Percentage of the coefficients
.99 to .90	9.4
.89 to .80	44.3
.79 to .70	32.3
.69 to .60	6.3
.59 to .50	5.3
.49 to .40	1.7
.39 to .30	0.0
.29 to .20	0.3
.19 to .10	0.0
.09 to .00	0.3
	99.9 Total per cent

The significant magnitudes of the coefficient of similarity have been calculated and are reported in Table 13-3. As a safety factor required by the use of rectilinear distributions, the .05 point for r_s has been calculated from the .025 point of the F distribution and the .01 point for r_s from the .005 point of F .

The most recent reliability study on the final form of the method used twenty-five subjects, retested between nine and twenty-one days after the original administration. There were 300 associations per subject, or a total of 7,500 associations in all. From these data 300 coefficients of similarity were calculated, one for

TABLE 13-5
TEST-RETEST CHANGES IN ASSOCIATION SCORES *

Magnitude of change†	Number of associations
0	3,168
1	2,895
2	1,079
3	276
4	82
Total	7,500‡

*Test-retest time varied from 9 to 21 days.

†Actual shift in the choice position for an association.

‡Twenty-five subjects times 300 associations per subject.

each characteristic. These are summarized in Table 13-4. Table 13-5 outlines the changes in the 7,500 association scores as a group.

The empirical nature of the method makes it possible for changes in the subject to appear as finite shifts in the pattern of responses. Similarities and differences within the same subject under changing conditions might thus be noted. Similarities and differences from subject to subject can be compared, using a common frame of reference.

However, before full confidence can be placed in an individual's response pattern, or changes in his pattern as a function of changing conditions, reliability must be considered. In this respect, reliability may be defined as the extent to which the specific pattern for a given individual remains constant over a period of time when no known forces are operating to alter the personality structure.

A preliminary study of the stability of individual patterns has been completed, and the results are reported in Table 13-6.

TABLE 13-6

TEST-RETEST STABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL ASSOCIATION PATTERNS

Subject*	Percentage of associations† Extent of test-retest change					Coefficient of similarity
	0	1	2	3	4	
Most stable	59	32	8	1	0	.90
Average	42	39	14	4	1	.79
Least stable	36	38	14	7	5	.65

*Data are reported for the one subject with the highest similarity, the average of all 25 subjects, and the one subject with the lowest similarity.

†Percentage of the 300 associations for a subject that changed position from test to retest, the time varying from 9 to 21 days.

0 = no change in position from test to retest.

1 = a change of one sub-group position, A to B, C to B, E to D, etc.

2 = a change of two sub-group positions, A to C, D to B, E to C, etc.

3 and 4 = similarly changes of three or four positions respectively.



Part VI

Patterns of Contemporary Character



CHAPTER 14

RESEARCH DESIGN¹

The men and women of one nation, influenced in common by the mores and techniques of their culture, must develop to some degree a common viewpoint and personality. When the nation is great and complex, as is ours, this common character will be similarly variable and have multiple facets. But variable or not, there will be some statistical averages to reflect the consistencies that exist in any culture. The common denominators of even the most heterogeneous culture will produce some similarities in the personalities of its nationals.

In addition, the forces that operate on men and women with dissimilar intensity will tend to produce differences in character that are sex-linked; the differences in cultural and genic pressures that evolve sex roles will evolve personality patterns unique to men and women.

Statistically, on the one hand, significant differences in mean scores for men and women will suggest areas in which sex-role forces operate to produce unique male and female ways. On the other hand, when the average scores for men and women are combined, those resulting means that are significantly different from chance will tend to reflect national character independent of sex-role forces. In using this approach with polydiagnostic data collected from 1300 subjects, it is possible to consider the contemporary character pattern both common to and contrasting men and women in four personality areas: self concept, motives, values, and concept of other people in general.

The subjects, approximately equally divided as to sex, ranged in age from fifteen to sixty-four. However, the distribution of respondents as a function of age was skewed by comparison to the age distribution in the national population. Therefore, statistical corrections were made to compensate for this imbalance in age. Since

¹ This chapter and the four that follow it include an expanded treatment of data a portion of which was first reported and interpreted by Larry R. Cohen and myself in a monograph, *Men and women: personality patterns and contrasts. Genet. Psychol. monog.* 1959, 59, 101-55.

not all subjects were administered the entire Index, the number of cases varied from set to set; and it was necessary to make individual age corrections for each item, for each sex, separately. The procedure used to correct for age was as follows.

For each characteristic (a specific term in a specific set) the respondents were first dichotomized as a function of sex. Then each sex group was divided into four age subgroups: I (ages 15-19), II (20-29), III (30-44), IV (45-64). The age break was made in this manner on the assumption that personality becomes increasingly stable as a function of increasing age. As a result, small age ranges in youth might be equated to larger age spans in later life.

TABLE 14-1
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION AS A FUNCTION
OF AGE AND SEX *

Age	Total population	Proportion of population
<i>Males</i>		
15-19	4,685,825	10.7
20-29	10,352,489	23.7
30-44	14,650,080	33.5
45-64	14,016,586	32.1
Total (15-64) <i>Males</i>	43,704,980	100.0
<i>Females</i>		
15-19	4,644,695	10.5
20-29	10,751,502	24.2
30-44	14,995,014	33.8
45-64	14,036,545	31.6
Total (15-64) <i>Females</i>	44,427,756	100.0

*1950 U. S. Census, urban white.

The actual population of urban whites in the 1950 United States Census was determined for these eight groups (see Table 14-1).

The distribution of responses to each item for each of these eight subgroups was then determined. The cell frequencies in each of the eight separate distributions were then multiplied by a correction factor (K), in order to produce frequencies that would approximate those that would have been obtained had our sample represented precisely the natural age distribution.

$$K = \frac{\text{proportion of the number of this sex in this age range (U. S.)}}{\text{proportion of the number of this sex in this age range (sample)}}$$

After introducing the correction, the four separate age distributions were recombined to form one corrected distribution for each

sex. The final distributions were thus corrected to match the national population figures for the various age groups within the overall age range of fifteen to sixty-four.

The distributions thus corrected, for men and women separately, for each of the 300 terms are included in Appendix IV (page 258) with the means and variances calculated from these corrected distributions. Used with extreme caution, these distributions may serve as the best present estimate of a normative distribution against which to compare individual polydiagnostic patterns. The means and variance may similarly serve as data on a normal population for purposes of comparison against other sample findings.

For this study of contemporary character, the means were subjected to two statistical tests. First, *t*-tests between mean scores for the sexes served to disclose those terms that were scored significantly different as a function of sex. This test is based on the comparison of data from one sex group against data from the other, and thus may be considered a test of *relative* significance.

In addition, an item mean may be significant in an *absolute* sense. Absolute significance evolves from the following aspects of the research procedure. The forced-choice method of judgment establishes a rectilinear chance distribution for each term. Therefore, for any one term *A, B, C, D, E*, choices are equally probable. On the basis of this fixed-choice distribution, confidence limits can be established for item means significantly larger or smaller than the chance mean of 2.00. Means that exceed these limits in either direction can suggest items that are being used for descriptive purposes in other than an irrational or chance manner. In this sense, means with such an absolute significance can be treated as evidencing those terms that are significantly descriptive or significantly not descriptive of the thing in question.

For an *N* of 100, a mean equal to or greater than 2.30 is significantly greater than the chance mean of 2.00 ($LC = .975$, one tail), and a mean equal to or less than 1.70 is significantly less than the chance mean of 2.00 ($LC = .975$, one tail). As the *N*'s vary from set to set, but all are above 100, these specific cutting lines are used for all further analyses in this study. The level of confidence will always be equal to or greater than .975.

When the two sex groups are combined, the *N*'s for all sets exceed 300. For an *N* of 300, a mean equal to or greater than 2.18 is significantly greater than the chance mean of 2.00 ($LC = .99$, one tail), and a mean equal to or less than 1.82 is significantly less than the chance mean of 2.00 ($LC = .99$, one tail). As all set *N*'s exceed 300, the cutting lines 2.20 and 1.80 are used for all analyses

of combined sex data. The level of confidence, therefore, always will be equal to or greater than .99.

A note of caution prior to the interpretation of the findings. First, the subjects were mainly drawn from the urban northeastern United States, and a plurality were from the metropolitan Boston area. Secondly, although the ages varied from fifteen to sixty-four, not all ages were equally represented in the original distribution of scores. Although statistically corrected for age, the result is merely an average approximation to what might have been obtained if the actual distribution had matched the census figures. Therefore, the results apply to the emotional characteristics of men and women (as represented by these northeastern urban Americans), independent of age (as statistically so corrected), in terms of forced-choice evaluations (according to the operational procedures of the polydiagnostic index), of the self, desires, values, and the social environment (in terms of descriptive adjectives).

CHAPTER 15

PATTERNS OF SELF CONCEPT

Comparison of the item means for men and for women suggests that there is a rather high over-all agreement between the self concept of the sexes. This impression may be substantiated by treating the means as scores and calculating the Pearson product-moment coefficient of correlation. Three such coefficients are reported in Table 15-1.

TABLE 15-1

SIMILARITY IN THE SELF CONCEPTS OF MEN AND WOMEN

Males vs. Females	Coefficient*
Sets 1-6 (90 positively connoted terms)	.83
Sets 7-10 (60 negatively connoted terms)	.94
Sets 1-10 combined (150 descriptive terms)	.88

*Pearson product-moment coefficient, correlating the mean item scores for males with the matched means for females.

With this evidence of consistency, the means for men and for women were equally weighted and combined to give individual item means representing men and women equally. In this respect, these means may evidence self concept, independent of sex as well as of age. Of the 150 available terms, the means for 64 were significantly high and for 59 were significantly low.

Each of the following ten figures reflects the findings for one of the sets of terms by which subjects described themselves. The bars of the various histograms start from the center at the chance mean of 2.00 and extend either to the left or to the right, depending on the magnitude of the actual mean. The vertical dashed lines mark off the statistically significant cutting lines beyond which a mean is significantly large (to the right) or significantly small (to the left).

If we can accept this group of subjects as reasonably representative of contemporary men and women in the densely populated urban northeastern United States, then the following are some impressions one might gather concerning how such contemporary men and women think of themselves. Of course, it is impor-

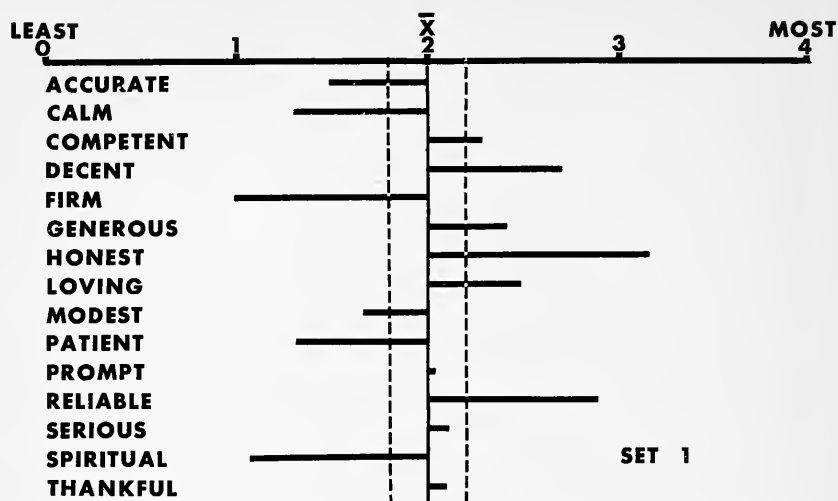


Fig. 15-1. Qualities associated with the self. Averages for men and women combined. Cutting lines represent the .99 per cent level of confidence.

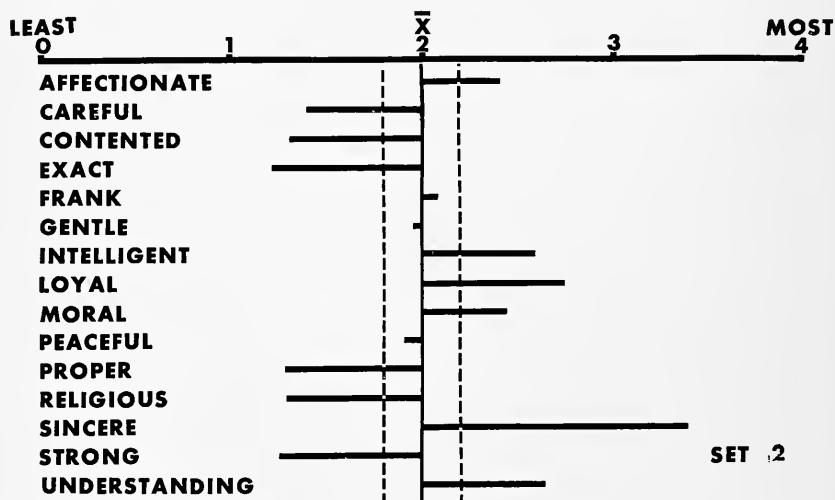


Fig. 15-2. Figure 15-1 continued.

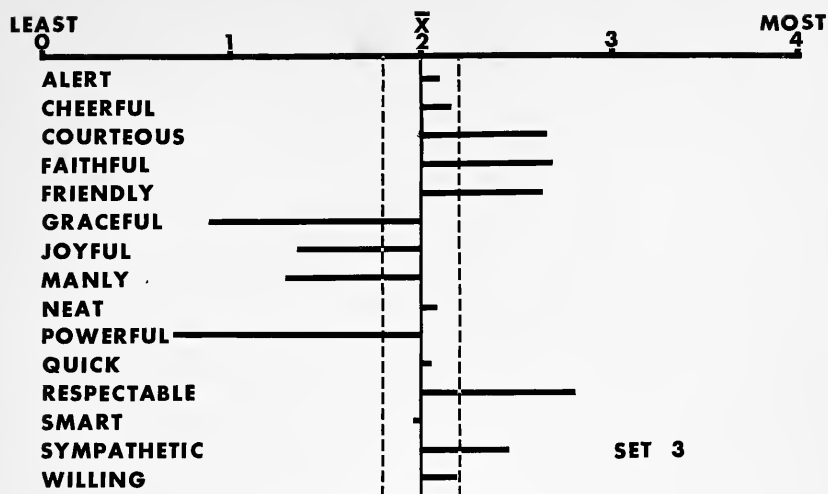


Fig. 15-3. Figure 15-2 continued.

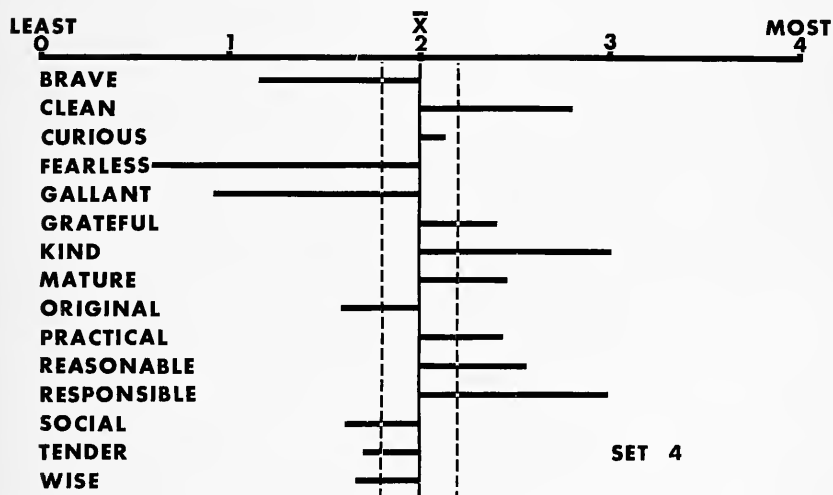


Fig. 15-4. Figure 15-3 continued.

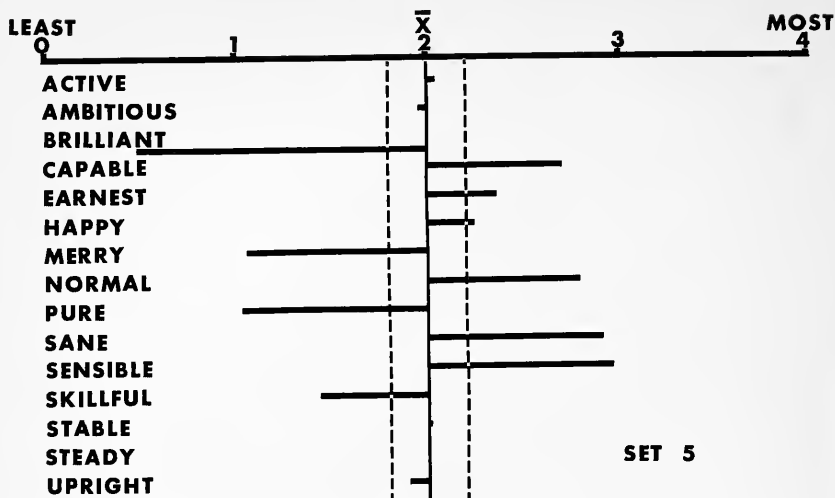


Fig. 15-5. Figure 15-4 continued.

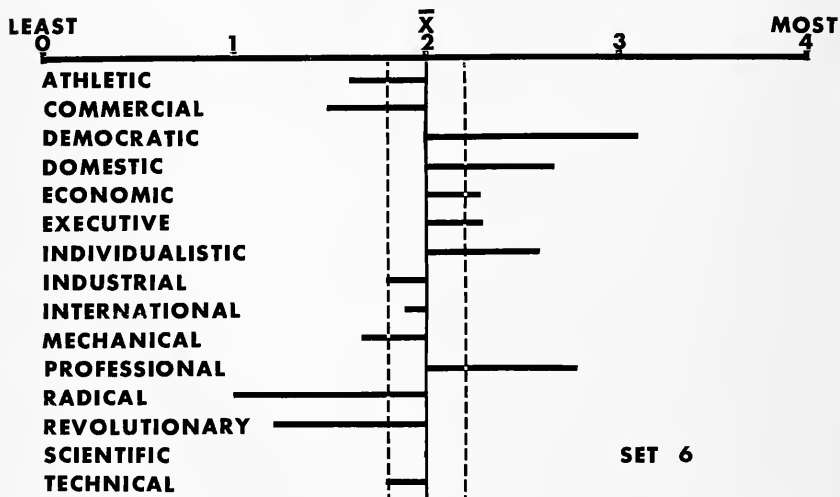


Fig. 15-6. Figure 15-5 continued.

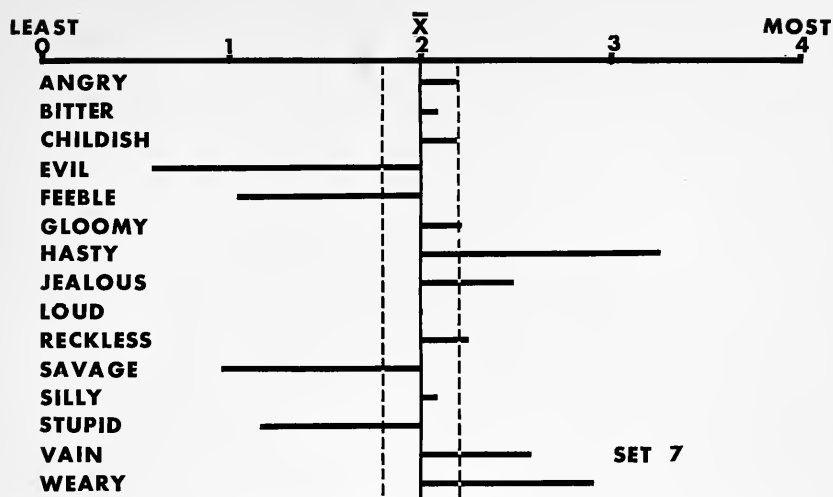


Fig. 15-7. Figure 15-6 continued.

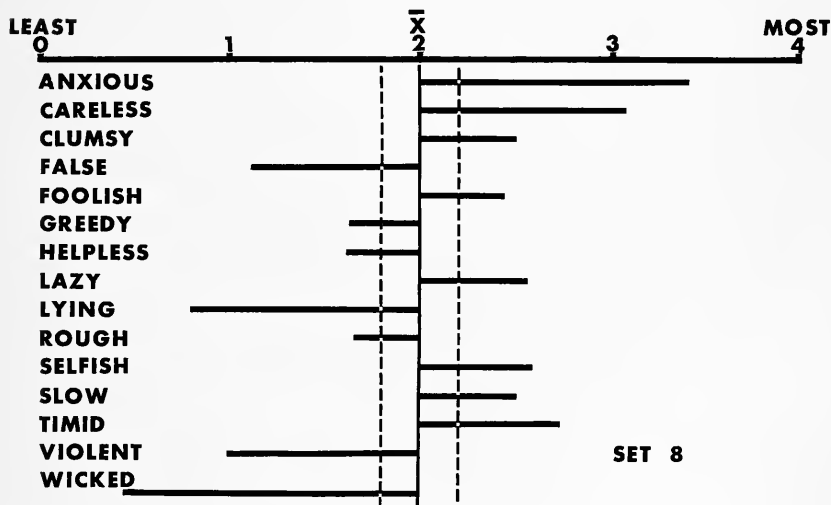


Fig. 15-8. Figure 15-7 continued.

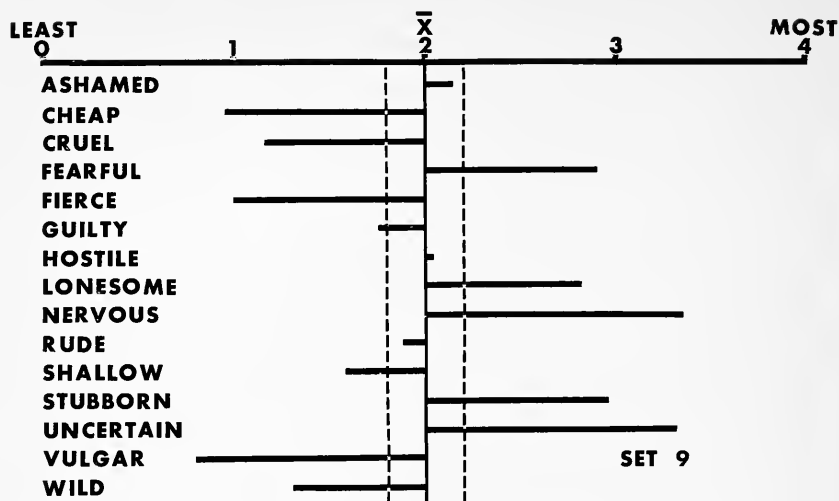


Fig. 15-9. Figure 15-8 continued.

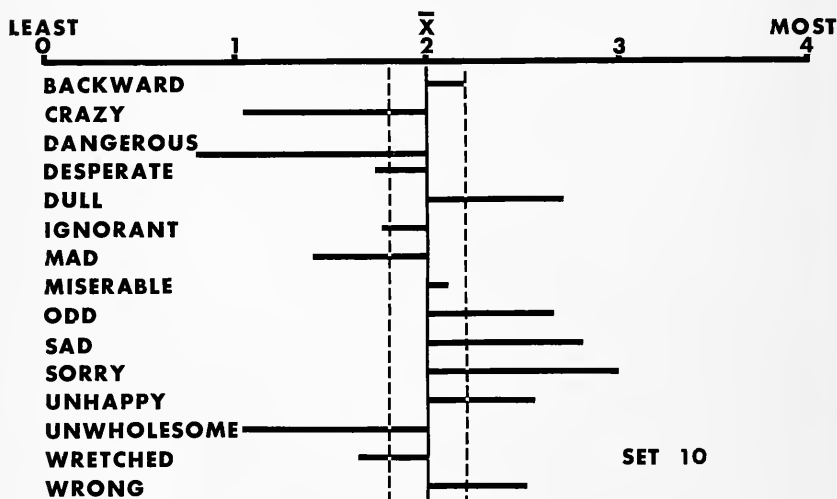


Fig. 15-10. Figure 15-9 continued.

tant to note that these generalities stem from statistically significant findings of an absolute nature, independent of comparisons with other cultures and other peoples. Our subjects are described as being different not from English or German or Danish men and women. They are described as being different from men and women in a chance culture of neutral people with neutral feelings. This results in a picture that is relatively free of the cross-cultural bias often imposed on character studies by introducing a value-judgment norm rather than a purely random or statistical one.

With this basis in mind, we see evidence that these men and women feel intensely insecure. In polydiagnostic terms, they feel anxious, fearful, and nervous, and not fearless.

One root of their feeling insecure appears in their feeling inadequate and incapable of performing the normal activities of everyday life in an industrial or technical society. In polydiagnostic terms, they feel not technical, not mechanical, not industrial, and not athletic. They feel clumsy, and not accurate; reckless, and not calm; foolish, slow, lazy, and not skillful. In these respects they express and reiterate a sense of worthlessness and the feeling that they can do few things well. It is important to note that this may not be a realistic picture of inability; but, since it is an aspect of the self concept of these men and women, it undoubtedly plays havoc with any sense of confidence in their ability to handle a difficult technical world.

There is also evidence that our subjects seem to feel themselves, at best, no more than mediocre in the intellectual sphere. They do not feel the deep inadequacy that they show in the technical areas, but at the same time they do not feel superior. The degree of their feeling average in the area of mental functioning is evidenced in polydiagnostic terms as follows. They do not feel stupid, but at the same time they do not feel brilliant. They do not feel ignorant, but also they do not feel wise. They do not feel shallow, but neither do they feel original. They feel intelligent, but also feel backward.

These men and women focus on their ability to be with other people, to be in the world of others, rather than in the world of things or of ideas. They feel that they adhere to the social standards and proscriptions established for them. In polydiagnostic terms, they feel clean and decent, not unwholesome. They feel honest and not false. They feel respectable and not vulgar. They feel, in a one-word summary, moral. This deep sense of moral compliance is a thing of the flesh and not of the spirit. It stems from the world of people and not of ideas or religion. In this

respect they tell us, in no uncertain terms, that they are neither spiritual nor religious. Peers and parents perhaps, but apparently not the church, serve as the source of their morality.

Our subjects deal with others by a highly involved ethic of giving; *loving* is perhaps the word best describing their behavior in this regard. They see themselves as extremely nice and benevolent toward others. In polydiagnostic terms, they feel generous, courteous, and kind. They are drawn close to others; this is reflected in their feeling friendly, affectionate and loving. They would share the trouble of others, feeling, in polydiagnostic terms, sympathetic and understanding. In addition to the giving of such things as sympathy and kindness, our subjects feel willing to give their allegiance and bond of surety. In polydiagnostic terms, they feel loyal, faithful, and sincere, and not lying.

With all of this compliant cooperation, these subjects are also involved in a lesser ethic of taking. They do take some rewards, apparently without malice or anger and with some sense of the legitimacy of taking. Mainly, the pattern seems to focus on the acceptability of ego-satisfaction or personal recognition and on the right of personal opinion. These are expressed in polydiagnostic terms as feeling selfish and jealous, stubborn, vain, and not modest. But these are just about all of the taking elements in the pattern of cooperation, which tends to suggest that the self concept of these men and women leans more heavily on a sense of giving to others than on taking from them. In fact, taking may be so uncommon in the thinking of these people that, when it does occur, our subjects feel, again in a polydiagnostic term, grateful.

When we try to understand why such a small part of our subjects' self concept includes taking, it is important to recognize that the major social mode of taking is aggressive, involving power and attack, hostility and anger. Since even slight aggression has no place in the self concept of our subjects, one further reason for greater weighting of compliant elements can be seen. The extreme rejection of aggressive behavior as a possible mode of adjustment is clearly evidenced. It is not that our subjects feel incapable of taking rewards and need-satisfaction; for, in their own words, they feel neither helpless nor feeble. But rather, it would seem that they feel either incapable or unwilling to use angry and aggressive methods to gain need-satisfaction. These men and women apparently respond to stress by feeling high overt anxiety but little, if any, overt anger. It would seem that the contemporary standard is: fear your enemies, but do not hate them.

The absence of aggressive elements in the self concept of both these men and these women involves an apparent sense of a lack of the potential and ability to aggress. Such impotence is seen in polydiagnostic terms with their feeling not powerful, not strong, and not firm. The results of this incapacity, this lack of an aggressive approach to life, can be seen in their feeling not savage, not fierce, not violent, not rough, and not wild. The lack of aggressive intent results in a disinclination to hurt others. In polydiagnostic terms, this is seen in their feeling not cruel and not dangerous.

As an effect, our subjects apparently feel, again in polydiagnostic terms, neither brave nor manly. Rather, they feel timid and uncertain. Although this would be relatively painful for anyone, male and female alike, and could easily increase anyone's feelings of anxiety and fear, the added price paid in terms of feelings of self-deprecation must be particularly great for our male subjects.

One might wonder if these frightened and compliantly cooperative people, who feel little rage against others, feel that they have gained friendship and acceptance as a result of this attitude. The answer would seem to be in the negative. In polydiagnostic terms our subjects do not appear to enjoy a state of gregarious gratification; they feel lonesome and not social.

In respect to guilt, note that these subjects feel, in polydiagnostic terms, neither cheap nor greedy, two possible sources for guilty self-criticism. They also do not feel, again in polydiagnostic terms, guilty. Although they do not feel guilty, they do appear to feel some qualities that could lead to feelings of shame without accompanying guilt, since they represent failings untainted by any suggestion of being intentional or deliberate. Again in polydiagnostic terms, they do not feel proper or pure, gallant or graceful. They do feel odd. They feel both sorry and wrong.

These men and women also feel demoralized and despondent. This sadness, however, does not deteriorate into a characteristic of emotional depression, since in polydiagnostic terms they do not feel either wretched or desperate. This demoralization is expressed in many ways. Again in polydiagnostic terms, they feel weary and not contented. They feel sad and not merry, gloomy and not joyful. They show ambivalence in their own attitude toward their state of happiness and satisfaction; in polydiagnostic terms, they feel both happy and unhappy.

There is a degree of ego-strength in this contemporary self concept that is even more striking when seen surrounded by the previously noted feelings of disability and failing. The self-

approval within the self concept of these subjects can be noted, in polydiagnostic terms, by their feeling mature, competent, and capable. This adequacy appears natural, commonplace, and moderate. In this respect, our subjects see themselves, again in polydiagnostic terms, as normal and dull, sane and not crazy. They feel, in polydiagnostic terms, practical, sensible, reasonable, domestic, and earnest. The extent of their moderation is further accented by their feeling individualistic, but neither radical nor revolutionary. When their sense of maturity and competence is focused on interpersonal relations, our subjects sense themselves to be, also in polydiagnostic terms, reliable, responsible, democratic, and executive.

Although the masculine and feminine self concepts are similar in many respects, a number of differences also appear. When the mean scores for men and women were compared, a statistically significant difference as a function of sex was found for 77 terms. In 41 of these the mean for males was higher than the mean for females and for 36 the mean for females was the higher. These 77 items serve as our major evidence of sex differences in self concept. Preliminary hypotheses in this area can be formulated through an analysis of these terms.

All those terms for which the means for men and women were significantly different (*relative* significance) have been clustered along theoretical lines relevant to possible hypotheses and are plotted accordingly in Figures 15-11 through 15-13. The vertical dashed lines mark the cutting lines beyond which any mean is statistically significant in an *absolute* sense. On the basis of these data, the following hypotheses are suggested.

H.1. By comparison to men, women feel a greater social benevolence, including:

- H.1A greater social empathy,
- H.1B greater social warmth,
- H.1C greater social unselfishness, and
- H.1D stronger social orientation.

This hypothesis and its subelements are evidenced in Figure 15-11 by the data marked 1A, 1B, 1C, and 1D. In addition, the configuration of scores shows certain supplementary aspects worth considering. For five of these items, the women's scores exhibit significantly high intensity, with the men's scores falling in the middle zone of indifference. Women apparently feel themselves to be understanding, sympathetic, loving, affectionate, and generous to a significant extent while men apparently do not. On the other

hand, men do feel themselves to be significantly not tender and not social, while in these respects the women's scores are not significant. It would seem as if women feel within themselves qualities of social warmth that are of no great concern to men. The fairly basic

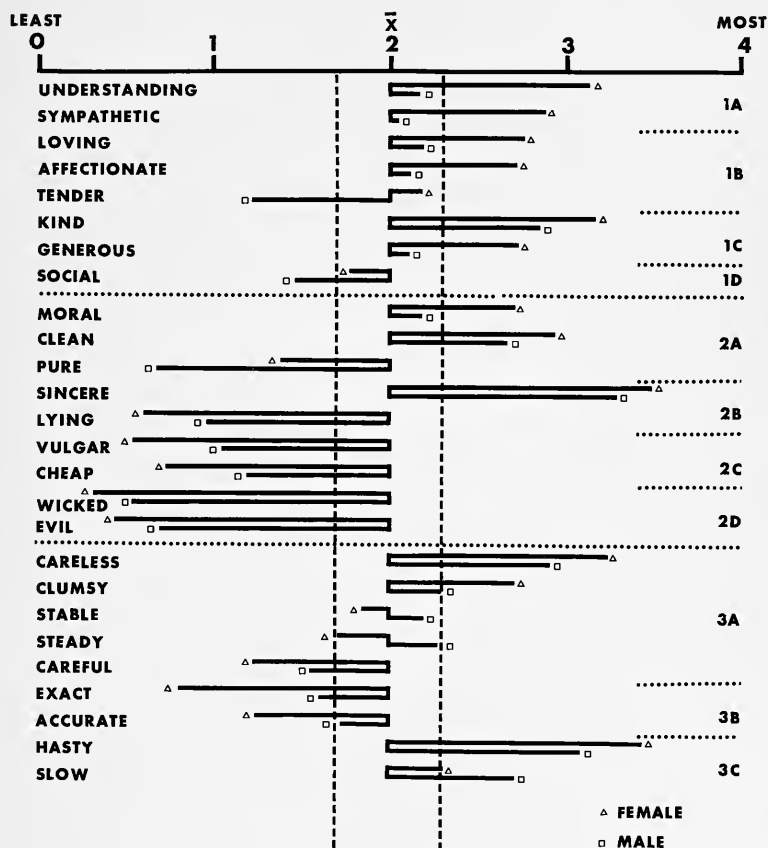


Fig. 15-11. Qualities associated with the self. Means for which there is a statistically significant ($LC = .975$) difference between men and women.

social orientation itself seems to be something men tend to reject along with the "softness" (tenderness) that such an orientation might require. It is as if the female feels a social closeness with others while the male does not. Nevertheless, both sexes feel themselves to be kind, suggesting that the masculine rôle may not exclude the concept of unselfishness, just so long as it cannot be construed as softness.

H.2. By comparison to men, women feel a greater social propriety, including:

- H.2A greater social morality,
- H.2B greater social honesty,
- H.2C less social coarseness, and
- H.2D less social iniquity.

The data marked 2A, 2B, 2C, and 2D suggest that both men and women are highly socialized and have internalized the pressures toward social propriety. Nevertheless, these feelings seem to go deeper in the female. It appears that although women have the stronger feelings, this difference is accompanied by fairly strong male feelings as well. Only one male score falls within the zone of absolute indifference. The only item in which the male seems willing to ignore the social niceties is in feeling moral. For all other items both men and women hold strong positions, although the positions of the female are the stronger in all cases. There may be a certain logic in this result, since it is usually assumed that it is the female who must transmit such cultural values to the children and thus transmit the culture itself.

H.3. By comparison to men, women feel a greater personal inadequacy of functioning, including:

- H.3A greater negligence,
- H.3B greater imprecision, and
- H.3C greater impetuosity.

The data marked 3A, 3B, 3C relate to this hypothesis. In addition to this hypothesis, these data suggest further interpretations. Both sexes appear to feel rather careless and hasty. For the other terms where women evidence greater feelings of inadequacy, men do not evidence particularly strong feelings of adequacy. In no one of these terms was there a significant male score on the positive side of the ledger. Apparently it is not so much that men feel adequate and women do not, but that men do not feel particularly adequate and women feel even less so. The configuration of scores is pessimistic for both groups.

A similar pattern appears later in other data relevant to the self concept. The picture is much the same; there is little suggestion of feelings of adequacy in the self concepts of either the men or the women. It is as if feelings of adequacy either in general or in specific areas are not very strong.

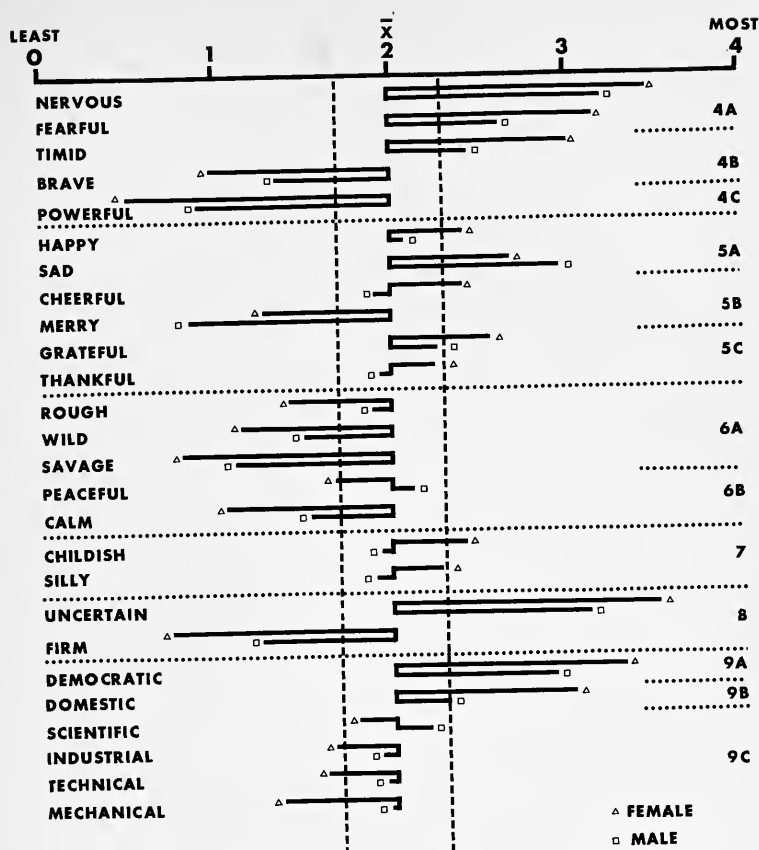


Fig. 15-12. Figure 15-11 continued.

H.4. By comparison to men, women feel a greater lack of self-protection, including:

- H.4A greater personal fear,
- H.4B greater personal cowardice, and
- H.4C greater personal weakness.

This hypothesis is related to the data marked 4A, 4B, and 4C. The pattern of results generally outlines this constellation of differences in feelings, but again the position of the male is by no means as enviable as might first be suggested. Although women constantly score themselves as feeling the less adequately protected, men also feel this personal lack. The men feel themselves nervous and fearful, although to a somewhat lesser extent than do the women.

They also feel personal timidity—not to the extent that the women do, but significantly more than could be expected on the basis of chance.

The fairly common stereotype of a woman usually contains elements to suggest that she is personally weak, in need of protection by the strong and powerful male. Supposedly it is the woman who stays at home and waits while her mate does battle in her name. The modern revision of this myth suggests that women are free from their yoke of weakness and dependency and can now care for themselves.

On the other hand, it is still a common belief that the male is powerful and brave. Even the myth of modern man carries the pseudo-aura of strength and courage, doing battle with the complex monsters of urban technology rather than the dragons of old.

The data relevant to Hypothesis 4 would suggest that the modern-day myths are very much out of line with the actual feelings of the men and women in question. It would seem that modern women feel little personal ability to care for themselves in times of stress and danger. And it would also seem that men feel only a slightly greater ability in this direction, certainly nothing to suggest real power and fearlessness.

It may well be that the old myth of the chivalrous male is no longer applicable. And similarly the modern myths of male and female are also open to some skepticism. It seems as though both groups have rather intense feelings of personal danger and both feel an inability to defend themselves against such danger. Although these feelings are stronger in the female, the self concept of the male is still appreciably displaced from the stereotype of a caveman. Fear and lack of personal power seem a real part of modern feelings, quite independent of sex.

H.5. By comparison to men, women feel a greater personal satisfaction, including:

- H.5A greater happiness,
- H.5B greater euphoria, and
- H.5C greater appreciation.

Findings reported as 5A, 5B, and 5C relate to this hypothesis. By and large, the scores for terms in these clusters are not so extreme as for the previously discussed items. Satisfaction appears to be an element of the female self concept but not so strong an element as those discussed in Hypotheses 1 through 4.

Again there are no radical differences in the concepts of men and women. Both feel some sadness, although men feel the more

sad. Both feel an absence of merriness, with the men feeling somewhat the less merry.

H.6. By comparison to men, women feel a greater controlled rage, including:

H.6A less overt aggressiveness, and

H.6B more covert hostility.

We customarily think of women as less aggressive than men. This seems to be substantiated by the data of Cluster 6A. However, in Cluster 6B there is some evidence to suggest women's greater inner turmoil and covert hostility. In combination, these two clusters suggest the general hypothesis that women feel greater rage but that this is covered up.

H.7. By comparison to men, women feel less personal maturity.

H.8. By comparison to men, women feel less personal conviction.

These two hypotheses, related to the data marked 7 and 8 respectively, may have some rational connection. A feeling of childishness can reduce feelings of certainty and conviction. It is ordinarily assumed that youth has less cultural knowledge, and so can be permitted less conviction. It is usually the elders in a community who, independent of the basic merit of their orientation, have their convictions reinforced by cultural acceptance. Feeling relatively more mature, it is thus probably easier in this respect for men also to feel more certain.

Once again we see a pattern of data that is not particularly optimistic for either sex. Neither men nor women show any strong absence of feeling childish. Both groups feel themselves uncertain and not particularly firm. It would appear as if a lack of personal conviction is reasonably common, independent of sex, and only relatively more common among women.

H.9. By comparison to men, women feel more clearly delineated orientations, including:

H.9A greater democratic feelings,

H.9B greater domestic feelings, and

H.9C less technological feelings.

The data marked 9A, 9B, and 9C suggest specific interest patterns for women, with less clearly delineated interest patterns for men. Women appear to feel rather domestic and democratic, not particularly scientific, industrial, technical, or mechanical. But on the other hand, men do not feel significantly mechanical or technical in an absolute sense. In fact, they feel significantly domestic, al-

though less so than do the women. Their mean score for this item, *domestic*, is higher than for any of the four items that we more commonly think of as typically masculine.

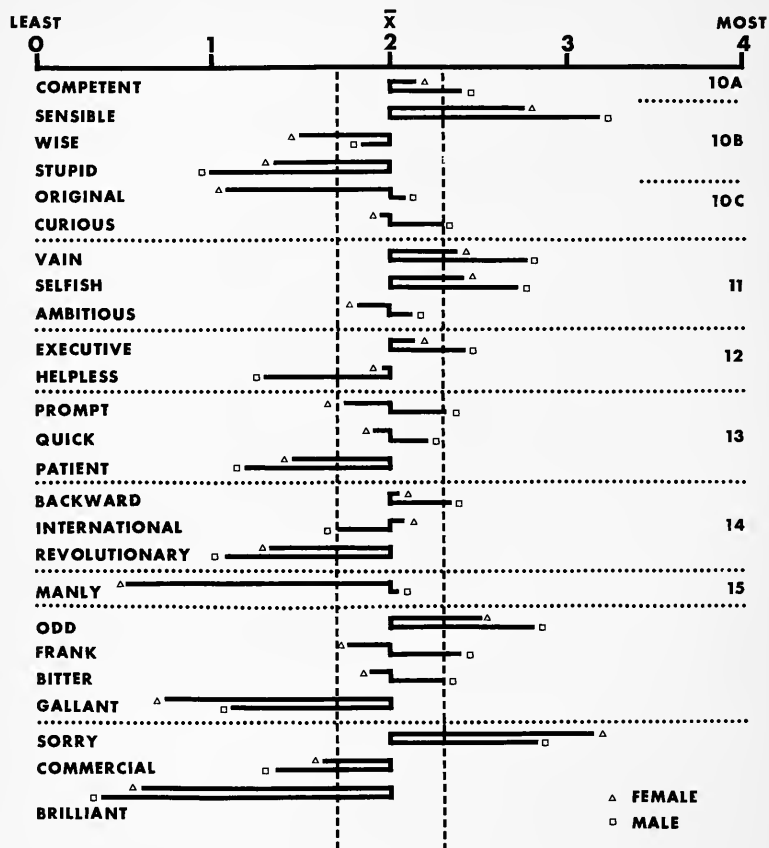


Fig. 15-13. Figure 15-12 continued.

H.10. By comparison to women, men feel a greater personal capacity, including:

- H.10A greater competence,
- H.10B greater intelligence, and
- H.10C greater imagination.

This hypothesis is related to the data marked 10A, 10B, and 10C. This constellation of items is the first of the series suggesting characteristics more intensely felt by men than by women. As such,

this is the first hypothesis that suggests the dimensions of the masculine self concept. Previously the orientation was more strictly in terms of the feminine self concept, and apparent differences between the sexes were described in terms of this feminine modality.

H.11. By comparison to women, men feel a greater ego-centrism.

As evidenced by the data marked 11, men appear more concerned with themselves, their ambitions and vanities. This is to some extent inconsistent with the popular stereotype that it is the female who is more narcissistic and exhibitionistic. However, although male ego-centrism may take forms less open to superficial inspection, it may be as deep or deeper a characteristic. Ambition and similar self-orientations may evidence an ego-centrism more intense than the desire for physical attractiveness and admiration, which we consider to be the female counterpart of ego-centrism. Nevertheless, women as well score themselves significantly vain and selfish, although to a lesser extent.

H.12. By comparison to women, men feel a greater personal control over the environment.

The data marked 12 underly this hypothesis which is consonant with others previously discussed. Men tend to think of themselves as significantly executive and not helpless. Although there is a significant difference between the sexes, there is no absolute significance in the opposite direction for the women.

H.13. By comparison to women, men feel a greater personal urgency.

In this respect, as indicated by the data marked 13, men seem to feel themselves more prompt than do women. They also feel themselves to be less patient. Women too consider themselves considerably not patient although more patient than do men.

H.14. By comparison to women, men feel a greater personal conservatism.

This hypothesis, formulated from the data marked 14, seems in disagreement with many popular stereotypes. It is often thought that men are the more adventurous and progressive thinking of the two sexes. Innovation and invention are associated more with the male than with the female. And yet these scores suggest that men tend to feel themselves the less innovative. If this is the general case, we might then assume that the cultural restrictions limiting the range of behaviors for women may simply serve as an inhibitor, permitting the male, with his more conservative self concept, to act in a more liberal way. Perhaps given equal free choice, women would show more forward-looking behavior patterns.

One aspect of the self concept data has particular relevance for sociopsychological and clinical theory. If we consider only those items for which the average of the male mean and the female mean combined is above the 2.3 cutting line (significantly greater than 2.0) we might then consider these items as the ones that suggest the more intense feelings of men and women in general.

There are twenty-six such high intensity terms. For twenty of these, the female score is the more intense (closer to +4); for the remaining six, the male mean is the more intense.

It would appear as if in a plurality of cases, where a feeling is rather intense for both sexes, in general it is the female who feels the greater intensity. Elements of the self concept that are rather intense for both groups appear to be those elements that are more important to females than to males.

This tentatively suggests the possibility that the female self concept is the more clearly established one, and that elements of this female self concept are those that it is possible for both men and women to feel strongly. If this possibility is further substantiated, then current thinking about the male and female personality in our culture may have to be somewhat restructured.

It may well be that there is no very strong male self concept. To a large extent the male may see himself as a socially separate being by recognizing himself as merely "not too female." Maleness in this case would be a residual category; a state of being not female.

There appears to be some justification for this line of reasoning. At present within the American culture there is prolonged and continuous contact of children with mothers and female teachers. The small boy, as well as the small girl, lives almost totally in a female environment. It would seem reasonable, therefore, for a boy to first develop a somewhat "female self." Then, in later years, as he gradually learns of the social differences between himself and his mother, teachers, and sisters, he might start to develop some sense of his own masculinity. If this is the case, masculinity would appear first to the young boy as something that is not female. Only in the unusual case of the boy child having strong masculine figures from which to learn would he start to develop a maleness that was an entity in itself.

Some of the data already considered suggests that the masculine qualities that cannot be considered as merely "not female" are also those qualities that are important aspects of maturity—for example, competence and strength. This further suggests that those elements of masculinity that are the more purely male may be those that do not develop until the boy child reaches an age at which he

learns what it is to be adult and mature. At this time the influences of his babyhood in a world of women may no longer be as pressing.

In more specific terms, we might formalize the hypothesis:

H.15. Masculinity is a feeling recognized more by its absence in women than by its presence in men.

As one further evidence to suggest this point of view, we have the data marked 15. Men apparently do not feel especially manly, although women definitely feel not manly.

In addition to the scores used in building the previous fifteen hypotheses, there are seven additional significant differences. These do not immediately suggest hypotheses of theoretical relevance, but may serve to further delineate the sexes. Males feel more odd, frank, bitter, and gallant, less sorry, commercial, and brilliant than do women.

CHAPTER 16

MOTIVES AND VALUES

The significantly high means scores on the positive terms of set 11 outline areas of high approach motivation, the significantly low means suggesting low approach motivation. On set 12 the significantly high means suggest low avoidance motivation, the significantly low means suggesting high avoidance motivation.

Again there is agreement in the motivation pictures for men and women, evidenced by the coefficients of correlation of Table 16-1. With this evidence of consistency, the means for men and

TABLE 16-1
SIMILARITY IN THE MOTIVES OF MEN AND WOMEN

Males vs. Females	Coefficient*
Set 11 (15 positively connoted terms)	.86
Set 12 (15 negatively connoted terms)	.94
Sets 11 and 12 combined (30 descriptive terms)	.89

*Pearson product-moment coefficient, correlating the mean item scores for males with the matched means for females.

those for women were combined to give individual item means reflecting motivation independent of age and sex. These means are graphed in Figures 16-1 and 16-2.

The focus of contemporary motivation would appear to lie in most fundamental areas: the basic desire of our subjects for health and the avoidance of illness, for love from others and the avoidance of their disgust, for personal success and the avoidance of uselessness. The ultimate status goals established by the culture—such things as wealth, prominence, importance, and greatness—seem to hold little real appeal for either sex. Success, which is ordinarily thought of as a mere prerequisite to the achieved status, is far more important. The drive seems to be much more egoistic than social; the cultural evidences of success are less valuable than the more abstract concept of success itself. The finer shadings of

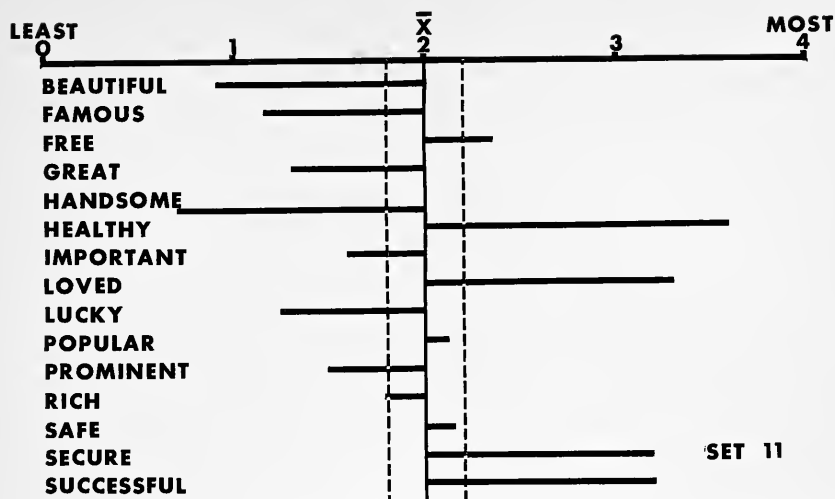


Fig. 16-1. Qualities associated with the desires of the self. Averages for men and women combined. Cutting lines represent the .99 per cent level of confidence.

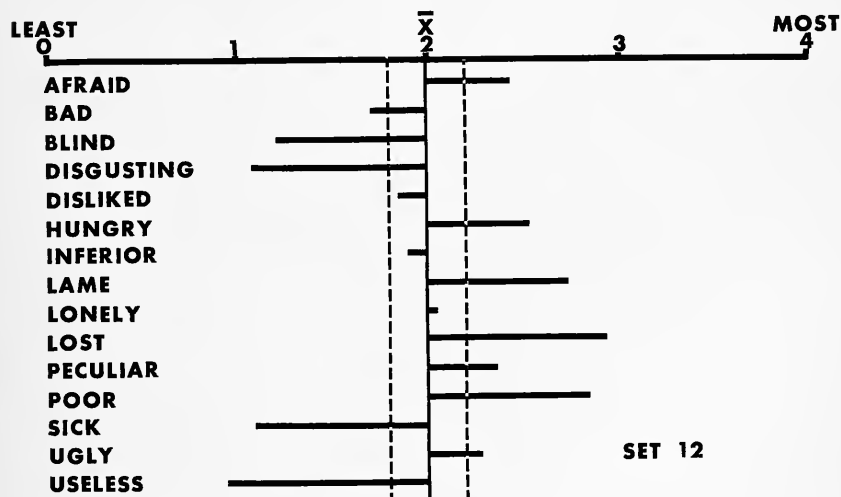


Fig. 16-2. Figure 16-1 continued.

motivation, the less vital but often desirable ends, seem to hold little appeal. It would appear as if the deep-seated anxieties of contemporary times have skinned away the superficial desires and left only a raw, primitive longing for security, for personal adequacy and environmental affection.

Once more, although there is similarity between the motives of men and women, there is also appreciable difference. Of the thirty terms, there was a significant difference in means between the sexes on thirteen. From these differences, as they are graphed in Figure 16-3, the following hypotheses have been evolved.

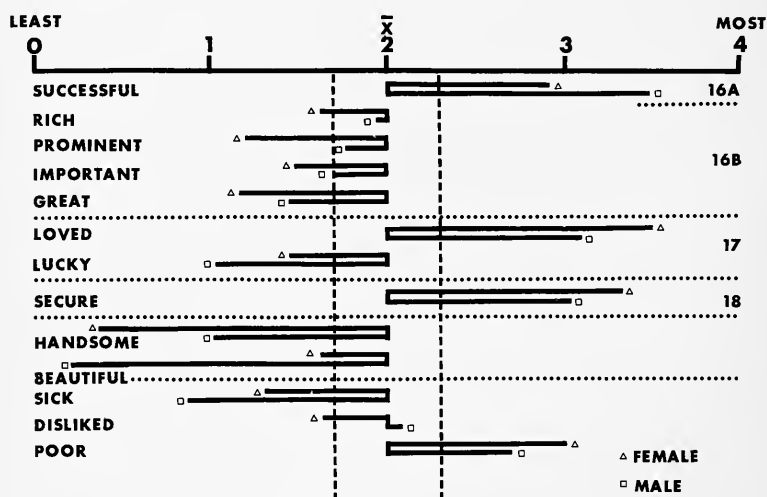


Fig. 16-3. Qualities associated with the desires of the self. Means for which there is a statistically significant ($LC = .975$) difference between men and women.

In respect to motivation—

H.16. By comparison to women, men feel a greater need for personal attainment, including:

H.16A greater need for personal accomplishment, and

H.16B greater need for status achievement and recognition.

This hypothesis is evidenced by the data marked 16A and 16B. In addition, there is a rather striking shift of absolute score positions between 16A and 16B. It appears that personal accomplishment is important to both men and women, with greater importance for men. On the other hand, status achievement and recognition

seem rather unimportant to both groups, with only relatively more importance for men.

H.17. By comparison to men, women feel a greater need for environmental friendliness.

The two items marked 17 suggest that women have a greater need to gain their personal well-being without having to exert control or gain personal achievement. Through love and luck, success can come without independent effort. The need for love is apparently greater than is the need for luck. Also, although the need for love is relatively higher in women, it is also significantly high in men.

H.18. By comparison to men, women feel a greater need for personal safety.

We might consider Hypotheses 16 and 17 as interacting with 18. The relatively high needs for achievement and for friendship may be joined with the high need for security, to suggest why both love and success are equally important for men and women. It is as if men and women would use both love and competence to gain security; the difference between the sexes being the slightly greater predisposition of men to desire personal adequacy, women to desire love.

In addition to these three hypotheses, the data suggest other aspects of motivation linked to the sex differences. Both sexes show an almost equally low need for physical attractiveness. For the male it tends to be expressed as a relatively higher need to be handsome. For the female, it appears as a relatively higher need to be beautiful. Nevertheless, in both cases the need is expressed with a significantly low intensity.

Keeping in mind that the *low scores* in set 12 suggest high avoidance needs, men apparently feel a greater need not to be sick. They also feel a greater need not to be poor, although poverty does not seem to be an important avoidance motive. Women, on the other hand, feel a greater need not to be disliked.

Considering the complete picture of motivation, we again note a characteristic that appeared in the self concept data. There are a variety of clear-cut differences between the motives of men and women, and in general these agree with current clinical and social theory. However, although the men do score significantly higher than the women on many items that we think of as culturally masculine, this difference is often of an unusual form. For many of these items, the difference appears not because the men have a significantly high need, but rather because the women have a significantly low one. Again in these respects we see masculinity defined in an indi-

rect and covert manner; that which is masculine is so largely because it is not feminine. Thus, while men do have a greater desire to be rich, prominent, important, great, and handsome than do women, these needs are not in and of themselves intense. Rather, they are masculine in the sense that women seem significantly not to desire these goals.

Only in one area is there evidence of an obviously masculine motive. Men desire success, both with absolute intensity and with relatively greater intensity than do women. The two additional fairly dominant motives for men, the need to be loved and secure, are thought of as more characteristically feminine.

In considering the values of our subjects, the ways by which they would seek happiness and satisfaction, once more there appears high agreement between the men and women. Using the forty-five means of sets 13 through 15 as scores, the Pearson product-moment r is 0.94. When the means for men and for women are combined to give a picture independent of age and sex, the resulting pattern of values appears in Figures 16-4 through 16-6.

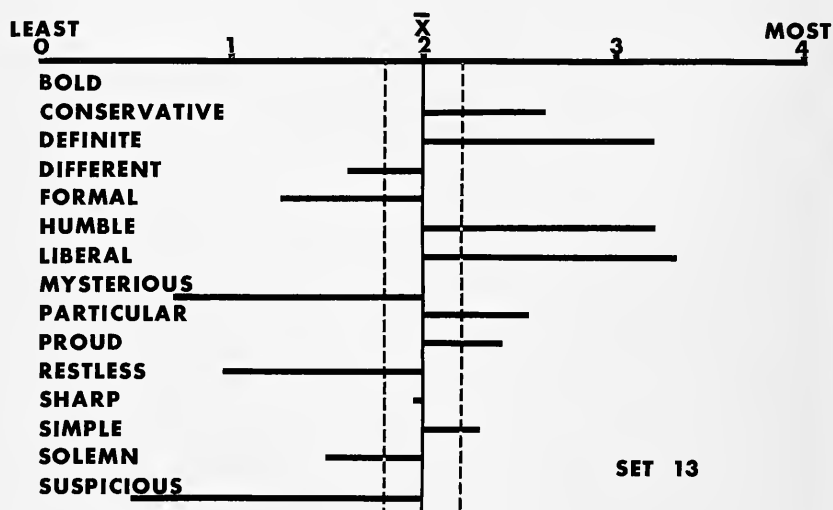


Fig. 16-4. Qualities associated with happiness and satisfaction. Averages for men and women combined. Cutting lines represent the .99 per cent level of confidence.

The values portrayed here consistently reflect the belief that happiness and satisfaction are to be found down the middle of the road, in a plain package, and that they come to people who are aboveboard and average. Extremes of all forms are decried. The

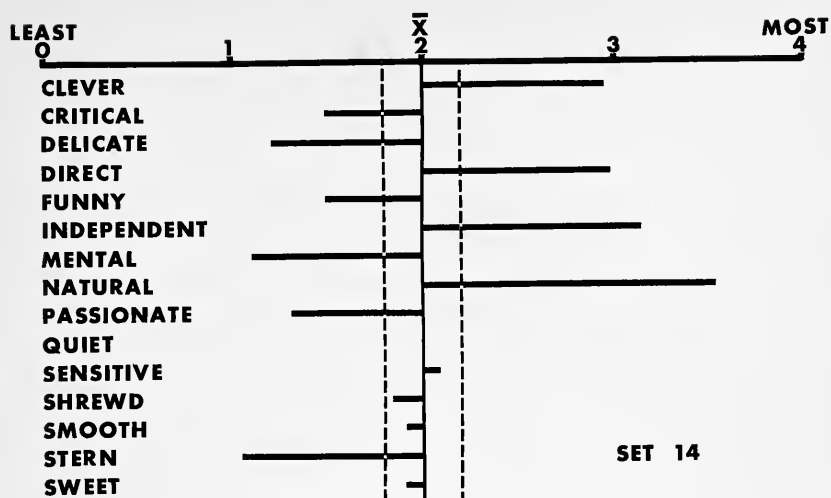


Fig. 16-5. Figure 16-4 continued.

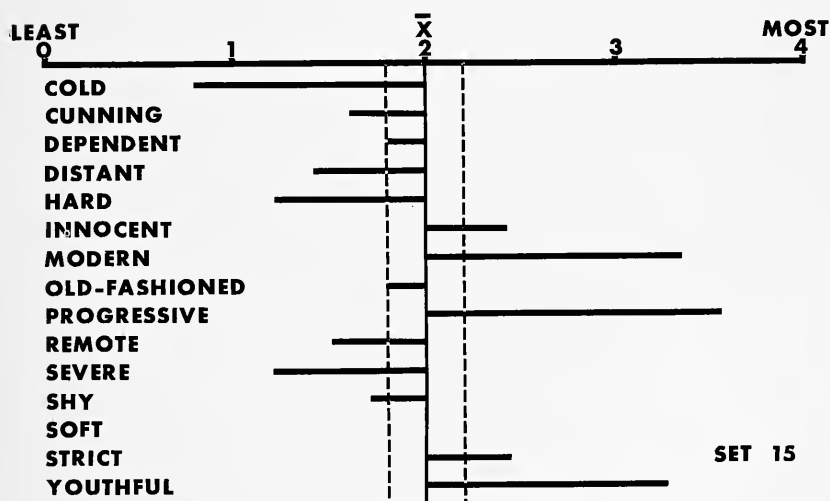


Fig. 16-6. Figure 16-5 continued.

emphasis is on approaching life tranquilly, without excess effort, informally and without temper. Intellectually a person should be, in polydiagnostic terms, clever, but at the same time should not carry this to the extreme of being cunning. In dealing with life, he should be direct, not mysterious, suspicious, or critical.

It also seems important that a person take a firm stand; he should be strict and definite. Once again, however, this must not be carried to the extreme of being hard, formal, stern, cold, or severe. In dealing with other people, social proximity and some intimacy are called for, in that a person should not be shy, remote, distant, or solemn.

Egoistically, one should be both proud and particular, but such ego-centering should not produce a person who is different. Rather, the result should be a humble and simple approach to life. Highly valued are the natural, innocent, youthful, and independent ways.

The stress on a middle-of-the-road position can be most clearly seen in the joint value of being, on the one hand, modern, progressive, and liberal and being, on the other hand, conservative. To best express this belief in the uneventful, one should not be either restless or passionate.

In all cases the contemporary value system appears to stress the comfortable, bland, undemanding approach to life. It would appear that happiness comes to those who are nice, relaxed, and easy-going people. This would be especially true in dealing with other people; in the world of others, open cooperativeness seems preferred.

Twenty-seven of the forty-five terms showed significant differences between means for the ways in which men, by comparison to women, feel they should seek happiness and satisfaction. These twenty-seven terms appear in various configurations in Figure 16-7. The following hypotheses are suggested as representing values associated with sex.

In respect to their values—

H.19. By comparison to men, women feel a greater value in autonomy, including:

H.19A greater antitraditionalism, and

H.19B greater nonconformity and noncompliance.

In many respects this hypothesis, based on the data marked 19A and 19B, is a far cry from our stereotyped concept of the sheltered and culturally stable female. Here apparently the women seem to be more the free thinkers. Men, on the other hand, although they too value autonomy in an absolute sense, do so to a lesser extent

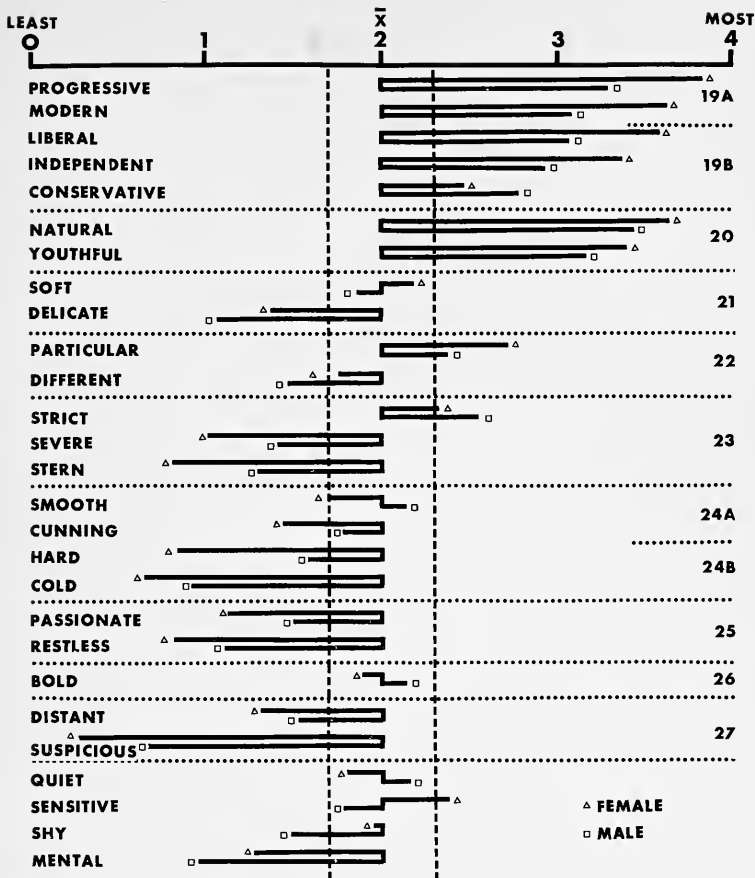


Fig. 16-7. Qualities associated with happiness and satisfaction. Means for which there is a statistically significant ($LC = .975$) difference between men and women.

than the women. The stable and traditional point of view seems more characteristic of the masculine than of the feminine value system.

H.20. By comparison to men, women feel a greater value in being unaffected.

This hypothesis is suggested by the data marked 20. This value would appear to be in keeping with expectations concerning the female role. Women apparently value more the plain and unadorned ways. They value more being natural. They also seem to value youth more. This would appear to relate to their relative value of freedom from cultural controls (their H.19 value of

autonomy) as well as freedom from the cultural education through aging (their H.20 value of being unaffected).

This cluster of data, and the one immediately preceding it, contain the terms that show the strongest absolute significance for both men and women. These are the terms scored closest to the +4 end of the scale. Once more this would suggest that, in these value-oriented terms, that which is the more important for both sexes is also the more female. Again the evidence suggests that the strongest feelings are representative of the female, the male experiencing them only to some lesser extent.

H.21. By comparison to men, women feel a greater value in weakness.

This hypothesis relates to the data marked 21. The data point up a value that is commonly associated with femininity. The stereotype of the soft and delicate woman is quite easy to recognize. However, although women do value these qualities more than do men, they do not by any means value them particularly highly. In fact, the idea of being delicate seems to hold a negative appeal for both groups.

H.22. By comparison to men, women feel a greater value in uniqueness.

Drawing from the data marked 22, women apparently attach a higher value to being particular and different. It would seem that the commonplace and ordinary are relatively more acceptable to the male. This may be related to the data of Hypothesis 19; it is certainly easier to be unique if one does not value being conservative.

Turning now to the data for which the men's mean exceeds the women's—

H.23. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in being uncompromising.

Referring to the data marked 23, it appears that men value more highly the strict, formal, and orthodox approach to situations than do women. A hard and exacting puritanism seems more characteristically masculine in this respect. It is to be noted, however, that in an absolute sense the means for both groups, for severe and stern, are significantly low.

H.24. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in ruthlessness, including:

H.24A greater subtlety, and

H.24B greater unemotional firmness.

Drawing upon the data marked 24A and 24B, another conventionally accepted characteristic of the masculine value system is

evidenced. Although the absolute magnitude of the value is not great, it would appear that, in conjunction with Hypothesis 21, men are more inclined to value aggressive strength, women more to value weakness. In this respect, a more traditional personality difference clearly appears.

H.25. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in excitability.

H.26. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in daring.

These two hypotheses relate to the data marked 25 and 26 respectively. In combination, these data suggest another pattern that agrees with the general cultural concept of masculinity. Being easily aroused to action, and then acting without caution when so aroused, an important aspect of what might be called "aggressive self-determinism," seems more masculine than feminine. But again these values are not particularly strong in an over-all sense.

H.27. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in wary distrust.

The data marked 27 touches on two elements associated with social withdrawal. Being socially distant is often thought of as part of the prepsychotic mechanism. Being suspicious is similarly oriented toward paranoia. These two feelings, closely associated as they are with an anticipation of danger from the outside world, appear more closely associated with the masculine values than with the feminine, although once again the magnitude of the value is not large.

Combining the data related to Hypotheses 23 through 27, one forms an almost perfect portrait of a jungle: strict, severe and stern; smooth and cunning; hard and cold; passionate and restless; bold, distant, and suspicious. These values appear to be those of a caveman. At the moment, seeing man as a bold and cunning animal is encouraged by a rich variety of mass communication in America. It is a picture that would suggest Tarzan, Daniel Boone, and the successful businessman all rolled into one.

But the pattern contains one major flaw; although these jungle values are all greater for the male than for the female, they are values that are little valued in an absolute sense. They are minor values at best. Although men do value these things more than do women, they certainly do not value them very much. The stereotype of the male animal is relatively true, absolutely false.

There are four additional significant differences. By comparison to women, men feel a greater value in being quiet. By comparison to men, women feel a greater value in being sensitive, shy, and mental.

In overview, the values that seem more characteristic of women would appear to be the more personal and self-centered in a pleasant sense. Women would be autonomous, unaffected, unique, and weak. There appears to be little concern over the social environment and its pressures. This appears to be the value system of people who feel themselves in a friendly and accepting environment, one in which there are no great punishments or demands for cooperation. To seek happiness and satisfaction in this manner requires a perception of the world as rather close to an idyllic pastoral. The individual self is a free agent and can act in accordance with its own personal desires.

On the other hand, masculine values are built more around a picture of the world as rather hostile and demanding. The male values suggest high competition in an environment that is none too pleasant. Uncompromising, ruthless, excitable, daring, and mistrustful—this seems the more sociocentric value system in quite a malevolent sense. It suggests that men may be more sensitized to the presence of an environment of others and none too pleasant “others” at that. It would appear a value system involving the basic principle: efficient and competent offensive and defensive actions are the best safeguards against the dangers of a hostile world.

CHAPTER 17

CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Once again the data for the two sexes appear very similar. In calculating coefficients of correlation, this similarity is evidenced in Table 17-1. Based upon this evidence, the means for men and women were once more pooled with equal weight to give item means independent of age and sex, representing feelings held by our subjects concerning the nature of other people in general. These means are graphed in Figures 17-1 through 17-5.

TABLE 17-1
SIMILARITY IN THE CONCEPTS OF THE ENVIRONMENT OF
MEN AND WOMEN

Males vs. Females	Coefficient *
Sets 16-18 (45 positively connoted terms)	.90
Sets 19-20 (30 negatively connoted terms)	.97
Sets 16-20 combined (75 descriptive terms)	.95

*Pearson product-moment coefficient, correlating the mean item scores for males with the matched means for females.

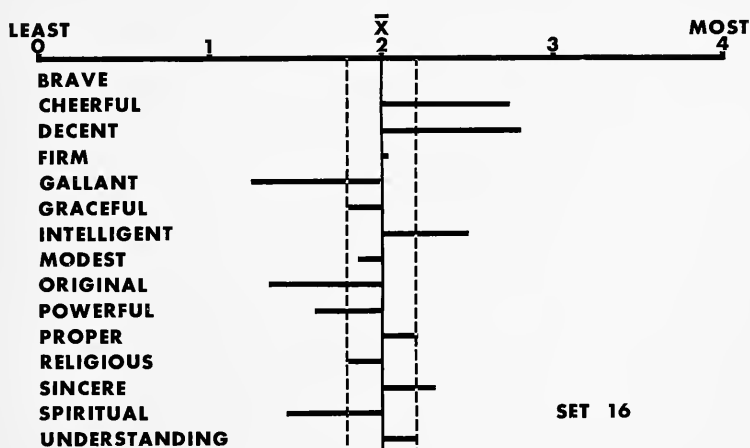


Fig. 17-1. Qualities associated with people in general. Averages for men and women combined. Cutting lines represent the .99 per cent level of confidence.

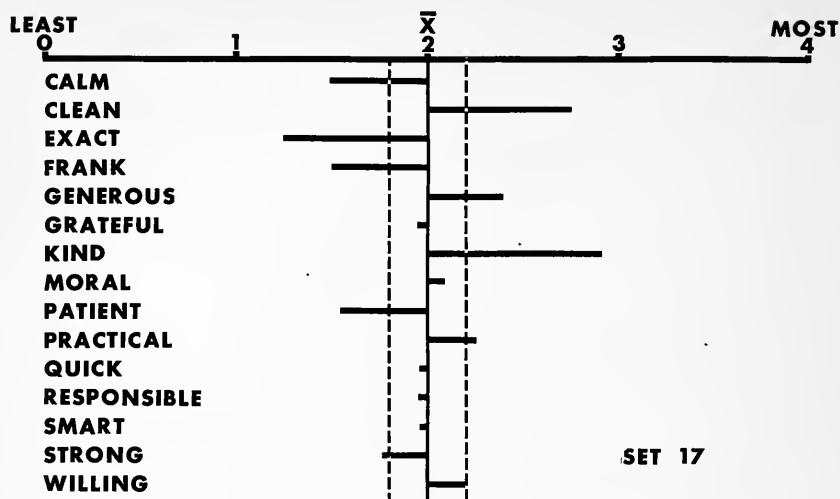


Fig. 17-2. Figure 17-1 continued.

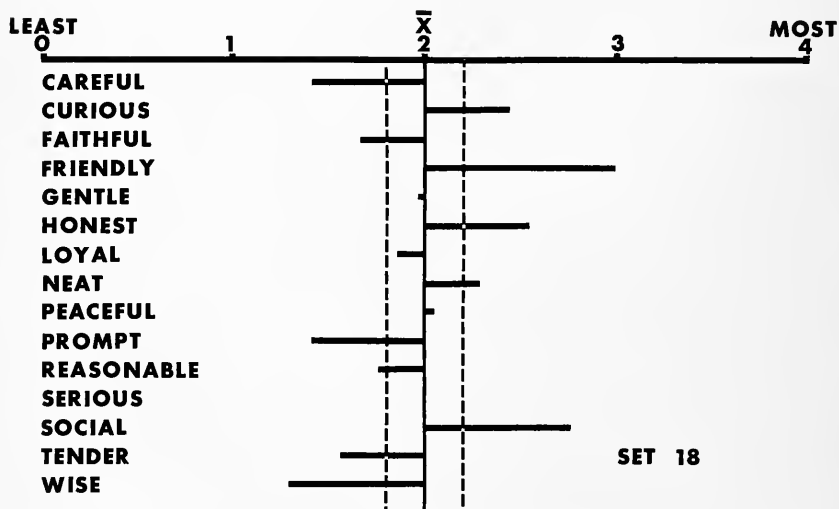


Fig. 17-3. Figure 17-2 continued.

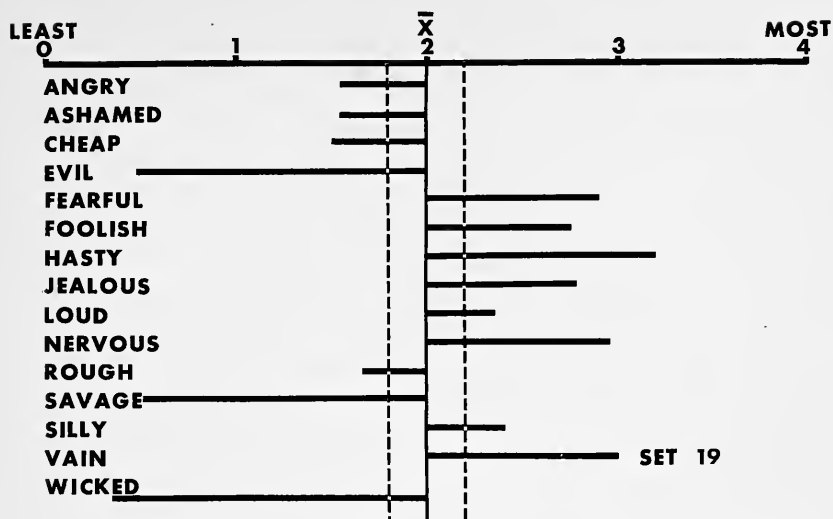


Fig. 17-4. Figure 17-3 continued.

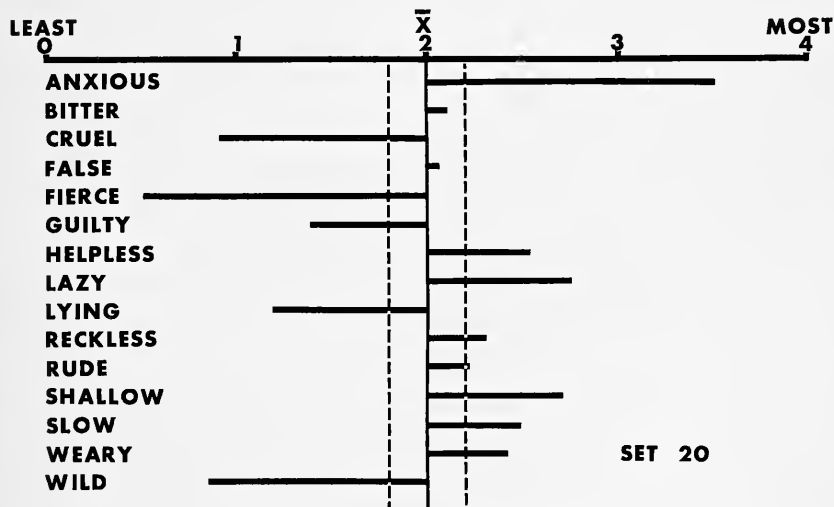


Fig. 17-5. Figure 17-4 continued.

Perhaps most striking is the picture that our men and women have in common of a world of other people who are socially proper and acceptable, people who have most of the attributes of morality and none of immorality. These men and women apparently see the world in which they live as populated by other people who seldom violate the codes of social ethics. In the area of morality, using polydiagnostic terms, they see other people as decent and honest. They see others as not lying, wicked, evil, or cheap. Added to this, in the area of propriety, they see others as proper, clean, and neat. The emotional result apparently can be seen in their belief that others do not feel either guilty or ashamed. However, our subjects do not feel that the origins of this morality are to be found in the area of religious fervor and training, for they see others as neither religious nor spiritual.

When this positive morality is focused in the world of people, it results in social intimacy and warmth. Other people are seen, again in polydiagnostic terms, as understanding, kind, generous, willing, and sincere. In general, others are felt to be social and friendly.

To this point the picture appears reasonably consistent; other people are seen as nice, socially pleasant, and proper, cooperative creatures whose good graces cannot be traced to religiosity. But inconsistencies appear in the total picture that suggest that others are not seen as completely this way. For example, others are felt not to be particularly trustworthy, being seen, in polydiagnostic terms, as neither faithful nor frank. One origin of their feeling a lack of trustworthiness in others may stem from our subjects' feeling that others are jealous.

These men and women feel that other people tend not to show anger or aggressiveness to any severe degree. Others are seen, in polydiagnostic terms, as not angry, cruel, wild, fierce, rough, or savage. Aggression of a minor egocentric, pushing type is noted, however. In this sense others are seen as vain, loud, and rude, neither tender nor gallant. To account for this perception of minor aggressive tendencies unaccompanied by extreme aggressive behavior on the part of others, our subjects see others as relatively impotent, being neither powerful nor strong.

Our men and women in common tend to see other people as slightly less than intellectually competent. It is as if they see others as distributed from the middle of the intellectual scale downward. In polydiagnostic terms, they see others as intelligent, practical, and curious, but also shallow and not original. They feel that

other people are silly and not wise, foolish and not reasonable. Our subjects also seem to feel that other people lack self-control. This constellation is evidenced, in polydiagnostic terms, by their feeling that others are not patient, careful, exact, prompt, or calm. At one extreme, others are seen as slow and lazy, at the other extreme as hasty and reckless.

To help explain many of these otherwise isolated tendencies, our subjects also see others as nervous, fearful, and anxious. In turn, partially to account for this anxiety cluster is the feeling that others are also helpless. The effect of this fear and helplessness would seem neither to lead to great sorrow nor to permit great happiness. The effect might be best expressed in polydiagnostic terms when subjects feel other people are cheerful but weary.

As pieces are added to the puzzle, a general pattern starts to evolve. Men and women in common apparently see their social community as composed of others who are socially proper and moral as a result of their own fears and impotent helplessness rather than out of deep-seated conviction, such as a religious concept of social morality. Others are apparently seen to some degree as intellectually adequate, although tending toward weakness in this area. In addition, others are felt to lack the self-mastery and self-control necessary to function well. Both such weaknesses would further explain an irreligious social morality, insofar as social propriety can often replace personal functional ability as a means for eliciting rewards.

Once more there are also statistically significant differences between the men's and women's mean scores on many of the terms. Of the seventy-five terms used, such significant difference was demonstrated on twenty. These twenty terms, clustered along theoretical lines, are graphed in Figure 17-6. From these data, the following hypotheses are suggested.

Considering people in general—

H28. By comparison to women, men feel the environment more formally socialized.

This hypothesis is related to the data marked 28. It appears that men feel that the environment is more peaceful, grateful, and religious. But these are terms having a fairly abstract and formal connotation. They are general rather than specific and suggest rather broad categories of socialization. In this respect and at this level, men more than women acknowledge the environment's social qualities. Nevertheless, in an absolute sense, the intensity of this feeling is not great.

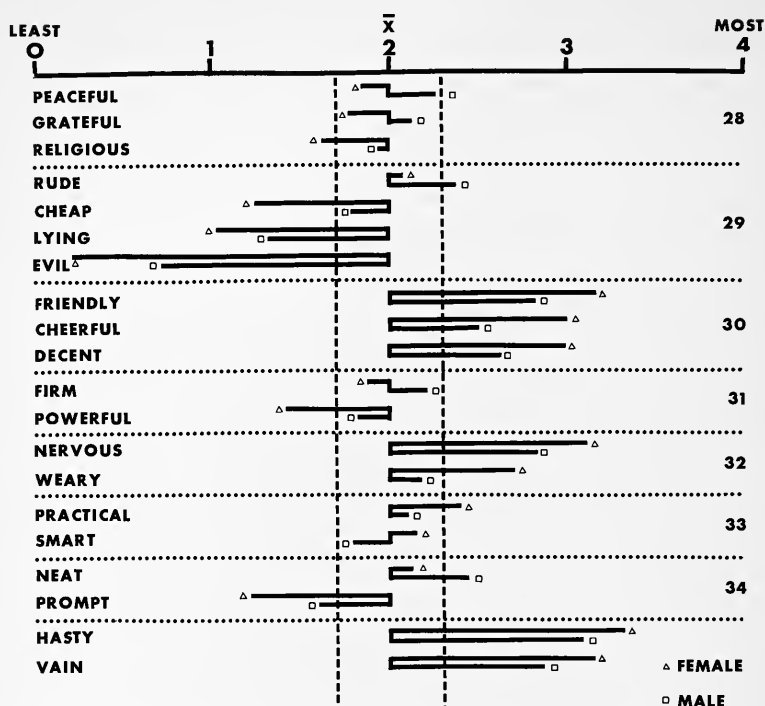


Fig. 17-6. Qualities associated with people in general. Means for which there is a statistically significant ($LC = .975$) difference between men and women.

H.29. By comparison to women, men feel the environment more antisocial or socially hostile.

This hypothesis, based upon the data marked 29, is in direct contrast to the previous one. However, the level of abstraction has changed. The terms used to describe the antisocial nature of people in general are rude, cheap, lying, and evil. These terms describe fairly specific modes of behavior that can be considered antisocial. In combination with the previous hypothesis, it would appear that men, more than women, have a concept of their environment as abstractly acceptable, but specifically unacceptable. The broad positive principles of the social environment are recognized, but various specific actions are open to question.

H.30. By comparison to men, women feel the environment to be more pleasant and sociable.

This hypothesis is drawn from the data marked 30. Relating to the previous two hypotheses and the data associated with them,

this hypothesis outlines a similar picture. The men seem to see the world as a socially acceptable world, in an orderly, abstract, and unemotional sense. Nevertheless, when dealing with people's behavior more specifically, they reverse their position and tend to see more of the dangerous and unattractive aspects of their society. On the other hand, women see less formal socialization, but they also see less social evil and more social pleasantness. Their concept of the environment appears to be one in which abstract unpleasantness is acknowledged; but when more concrete aspects of the situation are considered, they find less of a negative nature.

Again we notice the same phenomenon that has appeared in other data throughout the report. In the data marked 30, where the female means exceeded the male means, we find those terms with some of the highest absolute means. Once more there is evidence that the feelings that are more characteristically female are also the feelings that are the strongest for both men and women. This would further support the hypothesis of a cognitive system for both men and women that is more strongly influenced by female feelings than by male.

H.31. By comparison to women, men feel the environment to be more forceful.

H.32. By comparison to men, women feel the environment to be more enervate.

These two hypotheses, related to the data marked 31 and 32 respectively, relate to one another. Men score the environment as more powerful and firm, while women score people in general as more nervous and weary. These differences reflect further aspects of previously discussed divergences.

Under conditions such as those suggested in Hypotheses 31 and 32, there is further reason for men to feel a greater potential danger within the environment. On the other hand, feeling more nervousness and less power in the environment, women can more safely adopt a self concept and value system containing benevolent and friendly elements. The female sees a world that does not demand as much personal defensive and offensive activity.

Once more the terms that reflect the female feelings more than the male are also the more absolutely intense feelings.

H.33. By comparison to men, women feel the environment to be more capable.

H.34. By comparison to women, men feel the environment to be more precise.

These two hypotheses, based on the data marked 33 and 34 respectively, suggest two slightly different aspects of the same ques-

tion of personal competence. In these respects women feel the environment more practical and smart, men feel it more prompt and neat. The terms accented by the women would seem the more inclusive in general, suggesting a broader capability and a more functional set of social skills. Neatness and promptness are merely two small aspects of social correctness; they seem evidences of formal socialization and, only in this sense, social competence.

There are two additional terms for which there is a significant difference in mean scores, males vs. females. By comparison to men, women feel the environment to be more hasty and vain.

Again, there is a strong tendency for the female orientation to dominate the male. If we evaluate only the data relevant to feelings about the environment, all of the significantly high scored terms (in Figure 17-6 the terms for which the average of the two bars exceeds the upper cutting line) are terms for which the women's mean exceeds the men's. All of the significantly low scored terms are terms in which the men's mean exceeds the women's.

Once more it would appear that those feelings that women feel strongly, men also feel strongly but less so. When feelings are weak, the men's feelings are stronger.

CHAPTER 18

SOCIAL AND CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

The richness and variety of findings make it possible to suggest a tentative theory of sex-associated personality to account for some of the differences noted in the thinking of men and women.

However, such an overview must be delimited by recognizing that the data are drawn from a finite segment of the American culture and are representative only of that group. In suggesting highly concrete interpretations we leave ourselves open to the danger that concrete factors are unique to the social area sampled. As a result, it seems wise to suggest only the broader implications.

There are at least three levels of abstraction at which the data may be evaluated. The most specific treatment would call for an analysis of each polydiagnostic term uniquely and separately. In such an analysis each term would represent a finding and would be interpreted in line with existing theory. The second level of abstraction is evidenced in the thirty-four suggested hypotheses. These are integrations of the various terms and are reported to suggest broad principles.

A level directly above that is presented at this point. In overview, the findings appear to suggest a set of still broader principles that are quite abstract but that may serve to suggest more specific areas for future investigation. Again, however, it is important covertly to preface each broad principle with the note: under the unique cultural and experimental conditions operating at this time, in this study of this segment of America.

Five such principles are as follows:

P.1. *Masculine thinking is a modification downward in intensity of feminine thinking.*

The extent to which masculine thinking is similar to the dominant feminine modes is probably a function of (*a*) the length of time the male child is under feminine control, (*b*) the dominance of the feminine forces within the child's environment, (*c*) the relative absence of masculine counteractive forces, and (*d*) the similarity of the masculine and feminine thought patterns in the stereotypes and mores of the culture.

The prolonged dependency of the urban child leaves him under the thought control of mothers, teachers, and other females for an extremely extended childhood. There are obvious advantages of such prolonged feminine training for the female child. One effect of such prolongation is the crystallization of feminine feelings which seem to appear in the data as the high intensity scores of women. The disadvantages for the male child are equally apparent. The data suggest little if any real masculinity.

P.2. Masculine thinking is oriented more in terms of the self (self-orientation) while feminine thinking is oriented more in terms of the environment (environmental-orientation).

There is an implication here that men are more inclined to respond to self-direction, and women to leadership from outside of themselves. The data suggest some of the possible reasons for this. Women apparently like people more than men do. They feel themselves to be better social creatures. They acknowledge their own relative weakness and accept the concept of a relatively benevolent environment in which there is not much danger. The reverse feelings seem more characteristic of men.

There are concomitant differences accompanying this acceptance of direction either from the self or from the environment. These associated differences are recognized as the apparently greater dependency of women and the greater independency of men, as the greater social gregariousness of women and the more self-contained sociability of men.

P.3. Masculine thinking anticipates rewards and punishments determined more as a result of the adequacy or inadequacy of the self (self-determinism), while feminine thinking anticipates rewards and punishments determined more as a result of the friendship (love) or hostility of the environment (environmental-determinism).

Women appear more willing to acknowledge that the outside world holds much control over their destiny. Apparently they have learned to control their own hostility and to gain clearer and better established social attitudes and orientations. They probably consider their basic security as stemming largely from the kindness of others. This is their need for love.

Men are less willing to turn their lives over to what they consider to be a relatively hostile and dangerous social world. They prefer to build their own arsenal of weapons to tear success and reward from a restrictive environment. Their weapons are their competences, adequacies, skills, and effective behaviors.

P.4. *Masculine thinking is associated more with a desire for personal achievement and accomplishment, while feminine thinking is associated more with a desire for social love and friendship.*

There is a natural extension of Principles 2 and 3 into Principle 4. Assuming that women are oriented toward the environment for direction, and that they anticipate both their rewards and their punishments from this source, it is reasonable to expect that they would be highly motivated to seek love and affection. Hostility, under these conditions, would prove a devastating threat to personal security and satisfaction.

To men, however, personal success is a better proof of their ability to survive under unpleasant and dangerous social conditions. Assuming the possibility of a personal achievement and assuming the likelihood of environmental hostility, a great desire for love and friendship is a poor way to gain safety and protection. When one can expect little quarter, strength is much in demand.

P.5. *Masculine thinking finds value more in malevolent and hostile actions against a competitive society, while feminine thinking finds value more in freedom from restraint in a friendly and pleasant environment.*

Acknowledging the less pleasant aspects of the social environment, men are committed to a more primitive counteractive offensive. Their values, combined with their impression of the nature of others, integrate well with their desires and their concepts of self. Seeking success through competence, and opposed by a hostile environment, men find almost any means of overcoming resistance acceptable.

On the other hand, women appear to be less involved in competition with others. It is not so much that they value social benevolence, but rather that they value a simple expression of self, independent of social control and free from social restriction. It is as if the masculine way is to fight, the feminine way simply to ignore the matter and assume that things will work out well.

Although the last four tentative principles emphasize the contrasts between men and women, it is important to acknowledge the interaction of these principles with the first one. In an "ideal" sense, masculinity and femininity might be defined along the divergent lines suggested. But the basic factor that cannot be ignored is the extreme similarity between masculine and feminine thinking, with the feminine modes dominant for both groups. For men, these modes are only partially overlaid by the jungle-life orientation.



Appendixes

APPENDIX I. POLYDIAGNOSTIC INDEX INSTRUCTIONS

TABLE I-1 INSTRUCTIONS

Instructions for Set (1)

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOURSELF?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which describe you *THE LEAST*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the three which now describe you *THE LEAST*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe you *THE LEAST*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe you *THE LEAST*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Set (2) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (1).

Set (3) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (1).

Set (4) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (1).

Set (5) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (1).

Set (6) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (1).

Instructions for Set (7)

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOURSELF?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which describe you *THE MOST*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe you *THE MOST*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe you *THE MOST*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe you *THE MOST*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Set (8) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (7).

Set (9) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (7).

Set (10) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (7).

Instructions for Set (11)

IF YOU HAD JUST THREE WISHES,
WHAT WOULD YOU *MOST LIKE TO BE*?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which you would *MOST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *MOST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *MOST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *MOST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Instructions for Set (12)

IF YOU HAD JUST THREE WISHES,
WHAT WOULD YOU *LEAST LIKE TO BE*?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which you would *LEAST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *LEAST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *LEAST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which you now would *LEAST LIKE TO BE*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Instructions for Set (13)

TO BE HAPPY AND SATISFIED, WHAT SHOULD A PERSON BE LIKE?

From this list of words, choose the *three* that most describe what a person *SHOULD BE*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe what a person *SHOULD BE*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe what a person *SHOULD BE*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe what a person *SHOULD BE*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Set (14) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (13).

Set (15) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (13).

Instructions for Set (16)

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT *PEOPLE IN GENERAL*?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which describe people in general *THE LEAST*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE LEAST*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE LEAST*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE LEAST*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Set (17) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (16).

Set (18) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (16).

Instructions for Set (19)

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT *PEOPLE IN GENERAL*?

From this list of words, choose the *three* which describe people in general *THE MOST*.

Mark them A

From the twelve remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE MOST*.

Mark them B

From the nine remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE MOST*.

Mark them C

From the six remaining words, choose the *three* which now describe people in general *THE MOST*.

Mark them D

There should now be *three* words remaining.

Mark them E

Check to be sure that you have 3 A's, 3 B's, 3 C's, 3 D's, 3 E's.

Now go on to the next list.

Set (20) Follow exactly the same instructions as for Set (19).

APPENDIX II. SUPPLEMENTARY DATA ON THE CASES

Jean

A complete set of responses was used in Chapter 5 to demonstrate the map. This map represents a real subject on whom there is additional data. For those interested in making their own analysis of dynamics, these additional pieces of information can serve as some sort of check.

Included here is a set of Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory scores and a complete Dictaphone-transcribed protocol of a Thematic Apperception Test session. Experience with the subject suggests that these, as well as the Polydiagnostic map, well represent the person in question. Jean is a twenty-year-old female student in the physical sciences. She is extremely intelligent.

TABLE II-1
JEAN: MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY
INVENTORY SCORES ¹

Area	T Score
L	43
F	58
K	53
Hs	52
D	55
Hy	64
Pd	67
Mf	49
Pa	56
Pt	55
Sc	57
Ma	55

¹ T scores have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, based on normative data.

Jean's Thematic Apperception Test protocol is as follows: *E*: I am going to show you a series of pictures and what I want you to do is to use your imagination and tell me a story about these pictures. Be as imaginative as you possibly can be. Tell me what the people are doing, what they are thinking, what they are feeling. Tell me what is happening and, if possible, what is going to happen—how things are going to work out. Give me as much information as you can.

Picture 1. I feel this is a young boy of about eight who, very differently from most boys, not only of that age but most boys, is very interested in playing a musical instrument, particularly this one, the violin. He looks very pensive, and I think that might be because there has been some damage to the instrument; some damage which he has done, perhaps mistakenly, he has broken one of the strings, and he feels badly because he sort of loved the instrument; it meant a great deal to him. It was an accident but it doesn't help his feelings. I suppose he is somewhat reasoning, is not terribly afraid or anxious because he has comfortable home surroundings; but he does feel badly because he has hurt a friend. I imagine the instrument will be fixed and he will be able to resume his playing. It is not that there has been a permanent tragedy, but he has hurt something which he has loved.

Picture 2. This looks like the prairies of the west, fifty or one hundred years ago, perhaps. A young man plowing the ground. I would say that he probably was a brother of these two girls. I would say this was one family, two sisters and a brother. He is healthy, strong, not particularly intellectual; he is interested in physical activity, gets much satisfaction out of the land. The sister is of a somewhat similar type; loves the land too, and I would say was content with this sort of life. She has a smile on her face of triumph, perhaps; she is satisfied with the way things are going. This girl, however, is very unhappy; she is not suited to this sort of life. She is intellectual, enjoys reading; is somewhat forced by circumstances to stay here; perhaps the mother and father have died and this entire family, what is remaining, are needed to plow the land, to take care of it, and she feels obligations strongly; she cannot leave. But she is unhappy; she would much rather teach or read or develop intellectually. But she cannot so she is pensive about it. But I feel sure she will remain and will put away the books and will help with the plowing. Perhaps one day she will have forgotten about her original strivings and plans. I do not feel I have developed this character enough. I feel her smile has more to do than with just the land. There may be something more to it. I see her stomach is sort of large. Perhaps she is pregnant. I don't feel that she is married. I think she feels satisfaction that she will give birth, will have a child; it makes little difference whether she is married or not. Such a thing is accepted in these times. She feels creative; she feels part of the land; part of this giving birth as the land is now being plowed and will give rise to crops and plants. All this fits in with the type of people who will be successful in this sort of land; but this girl is not, is very much not a part of it, and very unhappy. Feels out of place at this point of her life.

Picture 3. This is a girl who is very unhappy at the moment. I feel, because she has killed her husband. I am not sure why. Perhaps, because he was being cruel, unthinking, inconsiderate of her. I believe that if she had been a little more rational she would not have done it. She regrets it very

much even though she feels he is evil. But she would not have turned to such—perhaps she was driven to it out of desperation and could not, at that time, think of anything else. But she bitterly regrets it, one, that she has taken a human life, and that two, she will be punished for it. She feels that, very much at this moment, that she will probably be killed by the state for her act. I would say that she has performed the act within the last few minutes, and just suddenly realized exactly what it means; that it will be the end of hopes for a happy life which probably consisted of much more than marriage. Perhaps she was artistic and gave up her career for him and did not find enough satisfaction in the situation of marriage because of the type her husband was, to compensate for that. So she realizes that even though her husband may be out of the way, she will still not have any happiness.

Picture 4. I think this is a couple who are very much in love but the man has interests besides—well, I don't believe it is his wife, let's say his fiancée; though he loves her—he is her only interest. And she is talking to him and she is a little petulant that he obviously is interested in other things besides her, perhaps his work, not necessarily other women; but maybe he has broader ideas and wants more out of life than just her. It upsets her a little, but I think she understands and accepts it as perhaps the nature of men. But her outlook is not nearly as broad as his. She wishes only to be married and to have him. I would say they have been talking and he has shown some of his interest is something else, perhaps art, perhaps music, a building, and commented on it when she was telling him how much she loved him. This slightly disturbs her that she is not always foremost in his mind. But I feel she will accept it and understand; perhaps not completely understand it, but will accept it. I would say that at this very moment she is—he is almost rejecting her, not completely, but he is trying to make it as obvious as he can that he cannot give up everything for her. He has turned away from her, perhaps he is saying "I'm sorry, but there must be other things."

Picture 5. This, I feel, is a mother, perhaps forty, of supposedly modern ideas, in words, in thoughts, but not in actions. She has liberal ideas, and she has brought up her daughter somewhat liberally, able to express what she believes; but she has suddenly opened the door and seen her daughter, is now seeing her daughter on the couch with a young man, and she is very upset because though she speaks liberally, she does not act that way, and is upset that her daughter will act this way. She is more than upset; she is disapproving, and will probably interrupt the scene immediately. I think she suddenly realizes her hypocrisy; and this bothers her even more that she is somewhat to blame for this because she has encouraged, at least in her ideas, such a thing by her supposedly modern outlook. But she does not really feel that way. And therefore will probably have very little control over her daughter in the future as she will simply be reviewing herself as a hypocrite. And her daughter will continue to rebel and perhaps leave home.

Picture 6. This looks like a young girl who has either been brought up in the country with a naive upbringing, or, well, that could certainly occur in the city. She has not been exposed to too much except the proper way a girl should behave, wanting to get married, and have children, and cook, and sew, and clean, and work for a husband. She has accepted this idea though she is talented in certain respects; she could certainly teach, if she had the education for that; she is capable of meeting people on a social basis, and, in general, a talented young girl. But she has come out of her naive environment to the city, perhaps, if she came from the country, and she is at the moment listening, startled, to a man who is telling her of her potentialities for other than the normal or usual role of that of a wife and mother. She is half afraid because all the pattern that she had been taught at home is now crumbling and she feels insecure; but at the same time she is half pleased because it appeals somewhat, it becomes exciting and dangerous, very stimulating. She wants him to go on, and his attitude is that he likes this girl, but it is not completely—he is not in love, he is half doing it, sort of fun, to break up somebody's ideas, just for the pleasure of seeing somebody come across a new idea and be sort of swept off their feet and to shock her at those ideas. He likes her even though he little cares what she does, whether she does accept these ideas or not. He is just doing it to tease, and also because he feels that there is no particular virtue in innocence, that knowledge is important. She will probably take his advice and will have her hand at, say, teaching, perhaps get some more education and teach, but I don't think she will stick with it. Perhaps she will become a wiser mother from that. But I think she will eventually fall into the old pattern she was brought up in.

Picture 13. This looks to me like a man who has strangled his wife because he found out she had been unfaithful to him, and he is extremely upset because he loves her and also because of what she has done. But he has had the sort of training where such a thing is evil and he cannot conceive of forgiving of anything like that. In his very passion he killed her. I do not think he regrets the deed in that if the situation could be done all over again that he would not kill her again; I think he feels that is the only just punishment for such unfaithfulness; but he, as I say, loves her, and is very upset. He will probably either be committed to an institution because of insanity at the time of the deed, or he will be hanged. I would say that he killed her after he made her confess because she did not know that he knew. But he drove it out of her with questions. He perhaps heard rumors and gossip and it was true, she did confess, and he strangled her.

Picture 7. I think this is the house of a wealthy family. Well, I won't call her the maid, but she isn't the maid, the older woman sitting on the couch. She is someone in between. She is someone educated but not extremely so, she is not the little girl's teacher. The little girl is rich, is very much left alone by her parents who are busy with their own affairs. The

mother very socially inclined, the father is busy at his work. She is alone all the time and is a very unhappy child, withdrawn. The part-governess is reading to her; this little girl does not go to school, but is educated at home. But the words are not interesting to her. The doll which she carries in her hand is not interesting to her. I don't think much in life interests her because she has been rejected by her—she *feels* rejected by her parents. They do probably feel some affection for her, but she does not matter that much to them; she is an only child; she is very unhappy in life because of this lack of attention paid to her by her parents; only by maids and this doesn't compensate for the withdrawal of parental affection. So she daydreams a lot. She will probably undergo a moody, dreamy, sort of adolescence. She will be married off to someone her parents choose. She will lead a vague sort of life. She will not contribute much; will have children; will attempt to help them be effectual, that sort of thing; will probably become a hypochondriac; will stay in her bed much of the time and will more or less dream away her life.

Picture 16. This is a blank piece of cardboard. It is white. [E: Can you make up a story?] Well, I could say that it is a door with no paneling in it. It is a door that has been closed. It will be permanently closed. An individual is behind that door that has been committed to an institution, a mental institution. The individual, though there is some aid in the institution to try to help the patient, this individual never gains from it, will always remain behind that door which will never open. The world has been shut out. The patient will never see the world again, he has withdrawn completely into himself. I would say the patient is very young comparatively, only twelve or thirteen. He tended toward schizophrenia since early childhood but parents were somewhat ashamed to bring the child to psychiatrists. They were rich enough to do this but they just didn't feel that someone this age had need of mental aid even though the child was obviously withdrawn and unhappy and didn't have companions. But they couldn't bring him to those who occasionally instruct the child; there was little getting at the person. But, by this age, the child was obviously so far gone that he had to be brought to a psychiatrist. They decided that he should be committed to an institution for the purpose of helping. There would be no gain to living at home because of the extent of the damage. But it was too late; the door was permanently shut.

Picture 8. This looks like a young girl who is half musing, half dreaming about her lover who has just said goodnight. She is very happy and content because she loves him and he loves her. And she is looking forward to their marriage which will be in a few months, and to the life they will lead. She is a very strong person, physically, much stronger than her husband. But for a girl fairly strong, she is intelligent. She is very much a part of the land, this is out on a farm, and she looks forward to the coming marriage, to the children she will bear, and to the land that will be worked. She is intelligent,

she will educate her children in many things which perhaps she doesn't have much talent for, but will have music and art available for them in case they are inclined that way. But she is not normally given to dreams; she is active physically, but she feels happy now, not much like moving about, just sitting and contemplating her life.

Picture 9. I would say that a whole party of young people have gone on a picnic and have wandered off, some in couples, some separately, to observe the scene. They have gone to the woods; there is a river, there are trees, spring day, very beautiful. But suddenly a storm has come up. This girl has climbed a tree and feels a part of the storm, a part of nature. She feels very good in this scene of nature's activity. The girl, on the ground, though, is afraid of the storm, of the weather. She is not part of nature. She is running to get with the —. She feels one with nature but not one with people so much. She has empathy with things but not with people. She feels amused and superior to the look of fright of the girl running. She enjoys the storm, she enjoys reading, she has a book in her hand. She likes violent things such as the storm; nature pleases her, particularly in its violent aspect does it please her. While the one who is running is afraid of violent things, particularly in nature, because she has not had much contact with that. She will rejoin the group and they will all run home. Perhaps in the group she will then smile and laugh at the weather because she is no longer afraid when there are other people around. She feels protected by the group. But this one will remain, will probably become drenched but will feel much superior to the others who ran away. She will probably never marry because she feels enough in herself. She feels she needs no one else but herself and is quite content. She could not see in a marriage relationship or in actually any love relationship the subjecting of herself, subjecting of her needs to somebody else of her ideas. She is not willing to compromise. She feels as if she is the most important person in the world though she realizes her insignificance but nevertheless her short life she will lead as she chooses, which is to gratify her own wishes and needs. She feels very akin to the storm. She is somewhat violent too.

Picture 18. I see a girl about twenty-five who is telling well—some of the other figures, it is difficult to tell—that she loves him but must leave him because she is married to somebody else, when she was younger, about eighteen. She was married and had been unhappy and had left that person, and had come here which is to a different city and had fallen in love but she—we'll say this happened a long time ago and divorces are impossible, she is not strong enough to live with this person and at the same time be married to somebody else, and so she feels she must leave this person and either return—no, she will not return to her husband because she does not care for him, but she will not live with this person. It would be too much of an upheaval in her superego, in her training, her background. She could not live with him but she is very

torn by these conflicts because she still loves this person and sorrowfully and very unhappily she is saying that she must leave. The other person is stunned; he has never heard of the other man, the husband; he has not at this moment completely grasped what the girl is telling him, but will accept it, will recover from it, will marry or establish successful love relationships with other people. The girl seems destined to lead a very unhappy life from now on. She cannot get rid of this husband who is tied to her, and she cannot conquer her own set of morals. She cannot count them out to find happiness with other people. She must continually drift alone and will die unhappy; not embittered, she is too kind for that, but she will not have had a happy existence at all.

Picture 10. I see two people, man and woman, who have just kissed. I cannot see the lips of the man but they are half smiling, half from pleasure, half from love. The girl is unhappy, though; she isn't smiling; she is upset; she has had a strict upbringing; was told never to kiss boys or anything else with boys, and she feels that she enjoys this but is at the moment not willing to even continue kissing because it is too much of a conflict. But I feel sure that the man will conquer her feelings, will lead her on (I don't mean fool her in any way) but he will lead her to realize the pleasures of sex and will gradually lead her to conquer her inhibitions. And while they may perhaps, not fall in love, not marry, however he will have cured her or put her very much on the path to a more mature understanding of sex, sex relationships, and of men in general, and will help her establish with the man she does marry a good sex relationship, a good marriage, and an understanding of the opposite sex. She will have lost many of her inhibitions regarding physical things.

Picture 12. I see here a witch which one doesn't think, I didn't think exists. I never thought they existed but this is a real witch who is here on earth and who is contemplating evil but she is a pleasant sort. She would sometimes just as soon do a good turn as an evil turn. She is sitting with her hands up to her lips thinking what she is going to do next that will give her some fun. And she has her eyes on this woman; the two of them are close together. I will say the witch is invisible to the woman; also she has her back to her. The young woman is staring at nothing in particular. Actually she is looking into the future and she is planning what she is going to do with her life. And it will be a very independent sort of life. She will—I think she is a pianist—and she will play, and that is about all she will do. Though she realizes this is actually perverted because it will be subjugating every other drive to that of her playing. She feels she has genius in her and she feels it is the duty of a genius to express oneself at one's best which is the case in her playing. She realizes the sacrifice she will make of her life but she feels it is well worth it because she feels she has talent. However, the witch is a little more knowing than the young girl and also has magical powers. She is going to—is contemplating throwing a wrench into the young girl's

affairs. She finds it a little annoying, this superiority of the young girl; she feels the girl has no right to be so superior, she is a mere human being. She doesn't know everything, and the witch resents this slightly so she is thinking of exactly what she can do to disturb the young girl's plans. And she is thinking of two possible ways. Either by having the girl fall in love which will settle this conflict of career versus marriage because this girl cannot conceive of both. Or perhaps she will injure the girl's hands so that she can't play. Actually I think the first method has more good in it than the second; the second is simply evil; the first has a little good. At least, if the girl decides on marriage she will receive compensation in one way, while if simply her hands are harmed she will have had no other plans and her plans for a career will fall through and she will have nothing to do with her life. But to the witch one isn't made more attractive by the fact that it is better or by the fact that it is more evil; she is thinking of which will be more fun for her. She hasn't quite decided yet. I think she will probably pick the young man because that might be the more (?) affair; she might feel that the girl might kill herself if she had her hands destroyed or harmed so she makes a decision, but she isn't quite sure now.

Picture 14. It is a very dark spring night, and a man is climbing out onto his fire escape; he lives in an apartment house and it is a very warm and lovely evening and he is very unhappy in his room which is dark and lonely. So he is going out where there is some light from the moon, and he will sit on the fire escape and he will be looking at the people because even though it is late it is so lovely that many people are out sitting on the sidewalks. It is a tenement district, and people drag their mattresses out on the fire escape and sleep there. He may do that too. He is a poet but not a terribly good one. But he has chosen to write and his work has not been accepted and he also is visited by doubts that perhaps he isn't as good as he thought he was and he may be wasting his life so he is unhappy. But he will sit on the fire escape, he will look at the people and because he—though he does not have many close friends, he feels a great love for humanity in general, he will feel content and more satisfied than he was when he was simply laying in his small room alone. But it will just be a temporary sort of contentment; he will return to his room later on that night and he will write a little, again, poor stuff, and so his life will go. He won't turn to drink but he will probably never turn to any human being; he will turn to himself and as he grows older find less and less in himself until he gradually dries up. By then he will be very old and will die.

Janet

Three psychological tests were administered in addition to obtaining the subjective map. The results of this supplementary testing are presented in Tables II-2, II-3 and II-4.

TABLE II-2

JANET: MINNESOTA MULTIPHASIC PERSONALITY
INVENTORY SCORES

Area	T Score ²
Hypochondriasis	47
Depression	61
Hysteria	64
Psychopathic deviate	77
Interest (masculinity high, femininity low)	47
Paranoia	64
Psychasthenia	60
Schizophrenia	67
Hypomania	55

² T scores have a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, based on normative data.

TABLE II-3

JANET: KUDER PREFERENCE RECORD VOCATIONAL C SCORES

Area	Percentile
Outdoor	53
Mechanical	57
Computational	42
Scientific	70
Persuasive	33
Artistic	72
Literary	72
Musical	52
Social Service	95
Clerical	1

TABLE II-4

JANET: THURSTONE TEMPERAMENT SCHEDULE SCORES

Area	Percentile
Active	10
Vigorous	50
Impulsive	3
Dominant	38
Stable	82
Sociable	17
Reflective	40

John Savage

A battery of five tests was administered in addition to obtaining the subjective map. Included were the Bernreuter Personality Inventory, The Won-

derlic Personnel Test, Three Differential Aptitude Tests, the Kuder Preference Record Personal A, and the Kuder Preference Record Vocational C. The findings from this battery are included here.

TABLE II-5

JOHN SAVAGE: BERNREUTER PERSONALITY INVENTORY SCORES

Scale	Percentile ³
Neurotic tendency	32
Self-sufficiency	35
Introversion (high score)	
Extroversion (low score)	44
Dominance (high score)	
Submission (low score)	79
Self-conscious felt inferiority (high score)	
Self-confidence (low score)	93
Solitary independence (high score)	
Sociable gregariousness (low score)	80

³ Based on norms for male adults.

TABLE II-6

JOHN SAVAGE: DIFFERENTIAL APTITUDE TEST SCORES

Scale	Percentile ⁴
Numerical ability	90
Abstract reasoning	90
Verbal reasoning	99

⁴ Based on norms for high school seniors.

TABLE II-7

JOHN SAVAGE: KUDER PREFERENCE RECORD
PERSONAL A SCORES

Scale	Percentile
Preference for:	
Being active in groups	83
Familiar and stable situations	7
Working with ideas	61
Avoiding conflict	30
Directing others	87

TABLE II-8

JOHN SAVAGE: KUDER PREFERENCE RECORD
VOCATIONAL C SCORES

Scale	Percentile
Outdoor	50
Mechanical	60
Computational	12
Scientific	89
Persuasive	30
Artistic	85
Literary	60
Musical	86
Social Service	14
Clerical	1

The Wonderlic corrected score is 38, which places Savage's mental ability above the 90th percentile of four-year college graduate men. This is raised slightly when his age is taken into account as Wonderlic suggests; with an age correction he is above the 92nd percentile.

APPENDIX III. FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

In all cases, terms were translated by linguistic specialists as the terms apply to personality traits—emotional rather than intellectual when there was a distinction. Accuracy was then pretested by expert questioning of nationals with no command of English who were directed to characterize the equivalent terms in their own language. Terms starred should be used with caution in that they are the closest obtained but appear to be counterparts in exact meaning only in specific context.

TABLE III-1

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

<i>Set:Item</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Flemish</i>
1:1	accurate	sorgfältig	précis	preciso	nauwgezet
1:2	calm	ruhig	calme	sereno	kalm
1:3	competent	kompetent	compétent	competente	competent
1:4	decent	anständig	convenable	decente	fatsoenlijk
1:5	firm	standhaft	ferme	firme	vastberaden
1:6	generous	grosszügig	généreux	generoso	edelmoedig
1:7	honest	ehrlich	honnête	honrado	eerlijk
1:8	loving	liebevoll	aimant	afectuoso	liefdevol
1:9	modest	bescheiden	modeste	modesto	bescheiden
1:10	patient	geduldig	patient	paciente	geduldig
1:11	prompt	rasch	prompt	rapido	stipt
1:12	reliable	zuverlässig	digne de confiance	digno de confianza	betrouwbaar
1:13	serious	ernst	grave	serio	ernstig
1:14	spiritual	geistig	mystique	espiritual	intellectueel
1:15	thankful	dankbar	reconnaissant	agradecido	dankbaar
2:1	affectionate	liebevoll	affectueux	afectuoso	hartelijk
2:2	careful	vorsichtig	soigneux	cuidadoso	voorzichtig
2:3	contented	zufrieden	satisfait	satisfecho	tevreden
2:4	exact	genau	exact	exacto	precies
2:5	frank	offen	franc	franco	openhartig
2:6	gentle	mild	doux	suave	zacht
2:7	intelligent	intelligent	intelligent	inteligente	intelligent
2:8	loyal	treu ergeben	loyal	leal	getrouw
2:9	moral	moralisch	moral	moral	moreel
2:10	peaceful	friedlich	paisible	pacífico	vredelievend
2:11	proper	schicklich	correct	apropiado	net
2:12	religious	religiös	religieux	religioso	godsdienstig
2:13	sincere	aufrichtig	sincere	sincero	oprecht
2:14	strong	stark	fort	fuerte	sterk
2:15	understanding	verständnisvoll	compréhensif	comprensión	begrijpend

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

<i>Set:Item</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Flemish</i>
3:1	alert	wachsam	alerte	alerta	waakzaam
3:2	cheerful	heiter	de bonne humeur	alegre	vrolijk
3:3	courteous	höflich	courtois	cortés	beleefd
3:4	faithful	treu	fidèle	fiel	getrouw
3:5	friendly	freundlich	amical	amistoso	vriendelijk
3:6	graceful	anmutig	gracieux	lleno de gracia	gracieus
3:7	joyful	freudig	joyeux	gozoso	vreugdevol
3:8	manly	männlich	viril	viril	mannelijk
3:9	neat	ordentlich	soigné	atildado	keurig
3:10	powerful	mächtig	puissant	poderoso	machtig
3:11	quick	schnell	rapide	rápido	vlug
3:12	respectable	achtbar	respectable	respetable	geacht
3:13	smart	aufgeweckt	fin	listo	slim
3:14	sympathetic	mitfühlend	bien disposé	compasivo	hartelijk
3:15	willing	willig	de bonne volonté	dispuesto	gewillig
4:1	brave	tapfer	courageux	valiente	moedig
4:2	clean	sauber	propre	limpio	helder
4:3	curious	neugierig	curieux	curioso	weetgierig
4:4	fearless	furchtlos	sans peur	intrépido	onbevreesd
4:5	gallant	ritterlich	brave	gallardo	galant
4:6	grateful	dankbar	reconnaissant	agradecido	dankbaar
4:7	kind	gütig	bienveillant	bondadoso	goed
4:8	mature	reif	mûr	maduro	rijp
4:9	original	originell	original	original	origineel
4:10	practical	praktisch	pratique	práctico	practisch
4:11	reasonable	verständlich	raisonnable	razonable	redelijk
4:12	responsible	verantwortlich	responsable	responsable	verantwoordelijk
4:13	social	gesellig	sociable	social	sociaal
4:14	tender	zärtlich	tendre	tierno	zacht
4:15	wise	weise	sage	sabio	wijs
5:1	active	aktiv	actif	activo	actief
5:2	ambitious	ehrgeizig	ambitieux	ambicioso	ambitueus
5:3	brilliant	glänzend	brillant	brillante	talentvol
5:4	capable	fähig	capable	capaz	bekwaam
5:5	earnest	ernsthaft	empresé	diligente	ijverig
5:6	happy	glücklich	heureux	feliz	gelukkig
5:7	merry	vergnügt	gai	alegre	vrolijk
5:8	normal	normal	normal	normal	gewoon
5:9	pure	rein	pur	puro	zuiver
5:10	sane	geistig gesund	sain	cuerdo	gezond
5:11	sensible	vernünftig	raisonable	sensato	redelijk
5:12	skillful	geschickt	adroit	diestro	ervaren
5:13	stable	beständig	constant	estable	standvastig
5:14	steady	standhaft	ferme	firme	bezadigd
5:15	upright	aufrecht	droit	recto	rechtschapen
6:1	athletic	athletisch	athlétique	atlético	athletisch
6:2	commercial	kommerziell	commercial	comercial	commercieel
6:3	democratic	demokratisch	démocratique	democrático	democratisch
6:4	domestic	einheimisch	domestique	doméstico	huiselijk

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

<i>Set:Item</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Flemish</i>
6:5	economic	wirtschaftlich	econome	económico	economisch
6:6	executive	vollziehend	exécutif	ejecutivo	uitvoerend
6:7	individualistic	individualistisch	individualiste	individualista	individualistisch
6:8	industrial	industriell	industriel	industrial	industrieel
6:9	international	international	international	internacional	internationaal
6:10	mechanical	mechanisch	mécanique	mecánico	werktuiglijk
6:11	professional	berufsmässig	professionel	profesional	professioneel
6:12	radical	radikal	radical	radical	radicaal
6:13	revolutionary	revolutionär	revolutionnaire	revolucionario	revolutionnair
6:14	scientific	wissenschaftlich	scientifique	científico	wetenschappelijk
6:15	technical	technisch	technique	técnico	technisch
7:1	angry	ärgerlich	fâché	colérico	boos
7:2	bitter	bitter	amer	amargo	bitter
7:3	childish	kindisch	puéril	pueril	kinderachtig
7:4	evil	übel	malfaisant	malvado	slecht
7:5	feeble	schwach	faible	enclenque	zwak
7:6	gloomy	düster	à l'esprit sombre	sombrío	droefgeestig
7:7	hasty	hastig	inconsidéré	precipitado	haastig
7:8	jealous	eifersüchtig	jaloux	celoso	jaloers
7:9	loud	laut	bruyant	ruidoso	luidruchtig
7:10	reckless	rücksichtslos	insouciant	temerario	roekeloos
7:11	savage	wild	farouche	salvaje	wreed
7:12	silly	albern	sot	nećio	onnozel
7:13	stupid	dumm	stupide	estúpido	dom
7:14	vain	eitel	vain	vanidoso	ijdel
7:15	weary	müde	fatigué	fatigado	vermoeid
8:1	anxious	besorgt	soucieux	ansioso	verlangend
8:2	careless	nachlässig	insouciant	descuidado	zorgeloos
8:3	clumsy	unbeholfen	gauche	torpe	slordig
8:4	false	falsch	faux	falso	onecht
8:5	foolish	töricht	insensé	tonto	dwaas
8:6	greedy	begierig	cupide	codicioso	gulzig
8:7	helpless	hilfflos	impuissant	desvalido	hulpeloos
8:8	lazy	faul	paresseux	perezoso	lui
8:9	lying	lügenhaft	menteur	mentiroso	leugenachtig
8:10	rough	grob	brutal	tosco	wild
8:11	selfish	selbstsüchtig	égoïste	egoísta	zelfzuchtig
8:12	slow	langsam	lent	lenta	langzaam
8:13	timid	schüchtern	timide	tímido	bedeesd
8:14	violent	heftig	violent	violento	heftig
8:15	wicked	boshaft	méchant	inicuo	slecht
9:1	ashamed	beschämt	honteux	avergonzado	beschaamd
9:2	cheap	gemein	avare	común	goedkoop
9:3	cruel	grausam	cruel	cruel	wreed
9:4	fearful	furchtsam	craintif	medroso	vreesachtig
9:5	fierce	grimmig	violent	feroz	onstuimig
9:6	guilty	schuldig	culpable	culpable	schuldig
9:7	hostile	feindlich	hostile	hostil	vijandig
9:8	lonesome	vereinsamt	solitaire	solitario	eenzaam
9:9	nervous	nervös	nerveux	nervioso	nervuus
9:10	rude	roh	impoli	grosero	onbeschaafd

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

<i>Set:Item</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Flemish</i>
9:11	shallow	oberflächlich	superficial	superficial	oppervlakkig
9:12	stubborn	starrköpfig	entêté	terco	eigenwijs
9:13	uncertain	unsicher	incertain	inseguro	onzeker
9:14	vulgar	vulgär	vulgaire	vulgar	vulgair
9:15	wild	wild	sauvage	bravo	wild
10:1	backward	rückständig	en arrière	lerdo	achterlijk
10:2	crazy	verrückt	toqué, fou	loco	krankzinning
10:3	dangerous	gefährlich	dangereux	peligroso	gevaarlijk
10:4	desperate	verzweifelt	désespéré	desesperado	wanhopig
10:5	dull	langweilig	lourd	soso	saai
10:6	ignorant	unwissend	ignorant	ignorante	onwetend
10:7	mad	wahnsinnig	fou	rabioso	boos
10:8	miserable	miserabel, erbärmlich	malheureux	desdichado	miserabel
10:9	odd	ungewöhnlich	bizarre	extraño	raar
10:10	sad	traurig	triste	triste	somber
10:11	sorry	betrübt	peiné	arrepentido	bedroefd
10:12	unhappy	unglücklich	malheureux	infeliz	ongelukkig
10:13	unwholesome	ungesund	corrompu	malsano	ongezond
10:14	wretched	jämmerlich	misérable	cuitado	ellendig
10:15	wrong	unrecht	incorrect	equivocado	onjuist
11:1	beautiful	schön	beau	bello	mooi
11:2	famous	berühmt	fameux	famoso	beroemd
11:3	free	frei	libre	libre	vrij
11:4	great	gross	grand	grande	groot
11:5	handsome	ansehnlich	bien fait	hermoso	knap
11:6	healthy	gesund	en bonne santé	sano	gezond
11:7	important	wichtig	important	importante	belangrijk
11:8	loved	geliebt	aimé	amado	geliefd
11:9	lucky	Glück haben	chanceux	venturoso	gelukkig
11:10	popular	populär, volks- tümlich	populaire	preferido	populair
11:11	prominent	hervorragend	éminent	eminente	prominent
11:12	rich	reich	riche	rico	rijk
11:13	safe	sicher	sûr	incólume	veilig
11:14	secure	gesichert	assuré	seguro	zeker
11:15	successful	erfolgreich	couronné de succès	próspero	succesvol
12:1	afraid	fürchtend	effrayé	temeroso	bevreest
12:2	bad	schlecht	mauvais	malo	slecht
12:3	blind	blind	aveugle	ciego	blind
12:4	disgusting	widerlich	dégoutant	asqueroso	walgelijk
12:5	disliked	unbeliebt	mal vu	malmirado	ongeliefd
12:6	hungry	hungrig	affamé	tener hambre	hongerig
12:7	inferior	minderwertig	inferieur	inferior	minderwaardig
12:8	lame	lahm	boiteux	cojo	lam
12:9	lonely	einsam	délaissé	solo	eenzaam
12:10	lost	verloren	perdu	perdido	verloren
12:11	peculiar	eigentümlich	singulier	peculiar	eigenaardig
12:12	poor	arm	pauvre	pobre	arm

FOREIGN EQUIVALENTS OF THE POLYDIAGNOSTIC TERMS

<i>Set:Item</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Spanish</i>	<i>Flemish</i>
12:13	sick	krank	malade	enfermo	ziek
12:14	ugly	hässlich	laid	feo	lelijk
12:15	useless	nutzlos	inutile	inútil	
13:1	bold	kühn	hardi	atrevido	stoutmoedig
13:2	conservative	konservativ	conservateur	conservador	conservatief
13:3	definite	bestimmt	déterminé	preciso	beslist
13:4	different	verschieden	différent	diferente	verschillend
13:5	formal	förmlich	cérémonieux	ceremonioso	formeel
13:6	humble	demütig	humble	humilde	nederig
13:7	liberal	liberal	libéral	liberal	liberaal
13:8	mysterious	geheimnisvoll	mystérieux	misterioso	mysterieus
13:9	particular	besonder	méticuleux	particular	bijzonder
13:10	proud	stolz	fier	orgullosa	trots
13:11	restless	ruhelos	agité	inquieta	rusteloos
13:12	sharp	scharf	pénétrant	agudo	scherp
13:13	simple	einfach	simple	sencillo	simpel
13:14	solemn	feierlich	solonnel	solemne	plechtig
13:15	suspicious	misstrauisch	soupconneux	sospechoso	wantrouwig
14:1	clever	gescheit	habile	hábil	knap
14:2	critical	kritisch	difficile	critico	critisch
14:3	delicate	delikat	délicat	delicado	fijngevoelig
14:4	direct	direkt	direct	directo	direct
14:5	funny	komisch	amusant	chistoso	grappig
14:6	independent	unabhängig	indépendant	independiente	onafhankelijk
14:7	mental	geistig	mental	mental	verstandelijk
14:8	natural	natürlich	naturel	natural	natuurlijk
14:9	passionate	leidenschaftlich	passioné	apasionado	hartstochtelijk
14:10	quiet	still	tranquille	callado	rustig
14:11	sensitive	feinführend	susceptible	sentitivo	gevoelig
14:12	shrewd	scharfsinnig	habile	astuto	sluw
14:13	smooth	glatt	lisse	liso	minzaam
14:14	stern	streng	sévère	austero	streng
14:15	sweet	süss	doux	dulce	lief
15:1	cold	kalt	froid	frio	koud
15:2	cunning	schlau	rusé	sagaz	listig
15:3	dependent	abhängig	dépendant	dependiente	afhankelijk
15:4	distant	entfernt	lointain	lejano	koel
15:5	hard	hart	dur	difficil	hard
15:6	innocent	schuldlos	innocent	inocente	onschuldig
15:7	modern	modern	moderne	moderno	modern
15:8	old-fashioned	altmodisch	suranné	anticuado	ouderwets
15:9	progressive	fortschrittlich	progressif	progresivo	progressief
15:10	remote	entlegen	éloigné	remoto	dromerig
15:11	severe	hart, streng	sévère	serevo	sober
15:12	shy	scheu	réserve	tímido	verlegen
15:13	soft	sanft	mou	blando	zacht
15:14	strict	strikt	strict	estricto	strikt
15:15	youthful	jugendlich	jeune	juvenil	jeugdig

APPENDIX IV. NORMATIVE DISTRIBUTIONS, MEANS AND VARIANCES

When using these data in a normative analysis of individual patterns, deviations from the norm should be noted most cautiously. Rather than make an overly precise judgment from distributions of only limited precision, it seems advisable to comment only on association patterns that are above the 75th or below the 25th percentiles for the subject's sex group. This gives a measure of the subject's deviation or nonconformity to the common pattern of responses without giving the impression of extreme abnormality.

To facilitate such analysis, brackets enclose at least the middle 50 percent of the standardization distributions. Only those positions that contain less than the top 25 percent or less than the bottom 25 percent are outside the bracketed middle area. For other cutting lines, these brackets may be ignored and the distributions used directly.

Patterns for individual subjects can be assessed with approximately the same rationale as applies to patterns obtained with other association techniques. One of the simplest forms of analysis requires only that all of the ++ items be gathered together, all of the -- items gathered together, and so on. This forms a picture of those qualities that constitute the self-associations, those that are antithetical to the self, etc. Similar analyses can be made for value patterns, need patterns, and associations with the social environment. Areas of conflict between self and society, self and valued self, values and desires, etc., may then be hypothesized.

Item means and variances from these subjects might serve as a preliminary approximation to a "normative" sample. As cases are added to the pool, and with an improved representation of other sociocultural levels, these data should become increasingly dependable. At present, evidence of significant difference of an experimental sample from this base sample must be interpreted cautiously.

POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SELF *

APPENDIXES

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		Male					Female				
		++	+	0	—	—	—	—	+	+	—
1: 1	Accurate	11.2	[23.0	18.7	23.1]	24.2	11.6	[25.1	24.3	35.1]	—
1: 2	Calm	12.1	9.0	[25.9	26.5	26.7]	10.9	[14.3	31.4	40.4]	—
1: 3	Competent	20.4	[33.7	21.0]	16.7	8.0	10.9	[35.9	21.1	21.0]	10.7
1: 4	Decent	[30.6	27.9	21.4]	10.6	9.6	[33.2	29.1	27.1]	6.6	1.0
1: 5	× Firm	6.2	11.2	[14.7	36.9	30.9]	1.3	4.3	14.1	[27.6	52.8]
1: 6	Generous	16.9	[24.0	28.9	14.8]	15.5	[29.2	32.8	23.1]	10.9	4.0
1: 7	Honest	[41.3	34.6]	15.0	6.4	2.8	[55.0	20.7]	21.8	1.9	0.6
1: 8	Loving	24.4	[17.2	23.6	22.3]	12.8	[38.4	22.4	22.1]	10.7	6.4
1: 9	Modest	6.7	[19.7	24.1	28.2]	21.6	14.9	[31.0	38.1]	9.3	—
1:10	× Patient	7.5	10.1	[15.5	26.5	41.1]	9.1	[13.4	31.6	30.9]	24.8
1:11	Prompt	[29.5	20.6	17.4	17.1]	15.6	14.2	[23.1	9.9	28.1]	3.2
1:12	— Reliable	[45.7	20.3	21.2]	10.7	2.2	[29.0	36.5	21.0]	10.4	—
1:13	Serious	22.6	[16.4	24.4	21.2]	15.7	24.9	[14.8	26.0	15.8]	18.4
1:14	× Spiritual	10.3	9.8	[9.5	12.8	57.7]	7.5	16.2	[8.0	16.0	52.4]
1:15	Thankful	14.6	[23.0	20.0	26.9]	15.8	[28.3	13.9	21.6	26.6]	9.9
2: 1	Affectionate	24.3	[20.1	19.0	16.1]	20.7	[37.7	14.3	34.7]	8.8	4.5
2: 2	Careful	12.6	11.8	[23.3	23.4	29.1]	3.5	12.6	[20.3	31.6	32.1]
2: 3	× Contented	10.0	8.1	[18.2	22.3	41.5]	16.2	7.8	[17.7	18.6	39.9]
2: 4	Exact	10.9	[19.4	18.4	23.1	28.4]	0.9	10.9	12.4	[21.6	54.1]
2: 5	— Frank	[28.1	21.6	17.4	28.3]	4.6	19.7	[12.0	18.4	23.4	26.2]
2: 6	Gentle	15.7	[15.8	30.2	20.6]	17.7	8.2	[20.8	38.5	27.9]	4.6
2: 7	Intelligent	20.8	[41.0	26.9]	6.4	4.9	20.4	[37.6	21.8]	13.9	6.3
2: 8	— Loyal	[32.5	28.8	25.2]	10.4	3.3	[27.3	34.5	21.5]	15.7	1.1
2: 9	Moral	19.8	[26.4	15.5	28.6]	9.6	[29.1	35.2	18.3]	12.3	4.8
2:10	Peaceful	16.2	[22.7	27.5	24.6]	9.1	8.1	[23.6	14.2	36.3]	17.9
2:11	Proper	4.9	12.5	[23.6	28.7	30.5]	6.7	15.7	[13.3	23.6	40.6]
2:12	× Religious	16.0	[9.6	6.7	23.6	42.3]	6.8	14.9	[13.2	27.7	37.4]

*The instruction: "How do you feel about yourself? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe you *the least*." Since the instruction *the least* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was left for one of the last three items (the *E* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *A* sub-group.

N = 364 (Set 1), 362 (Set 2), 363 (Set 3), 357 (Set 4), 357 (Set 5), 353 (Set 6).

TABLE IV-1 (continued)

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses						Male		Female	
		++	+	0	—	—	—	+	0	+	0
2:13	Sincere	[56.0]	24.5]	12.3	6.3	0.9		[63.9	22.9]	12.1	0.8
2:14	Strong	7.7	11.6	[16.9	27.0	36.7]	*	3.9	7.6	[28.5	30.2
2:15	Understanding	20.0	[27.1	22.2	10.4]	20.5		[45.0	31.4]	15.5	7.9
3:1	Alert	15.2	[24.6	29.6	17.1]	13.7		22.0	[17.7	24.3	20.3]
3:2	Cheerful	6.3	[22.7	34.7	28.4]	8.2		22.2	[27.9	23.1	21.9]
3:3	Courteous	[30.4	32.7	16.7]	10.1	10.3		[31.8	23.3	30.5]	11.4
3:4	Faithful	[37.0	16.1	25.3]	15.8	5.9		[31.3	29.4	23.2]	13.7
3:5	Friendly	[30.4	25.6	18.3	20.4]	5.4		[41.5	18.4	19.6]	12.9
3:6	Graceful	4.3	7.1	9.6	[21.2	57.9]		1.3	10.0	[15.4	31.7
3:7	Joyful	4.0	15.6	[13.6	39.5	28.0]		4.2	17.3	[18.6	34.2
3:8	Manly	17.0	[23.3	19.3	27.2]	13.2		4.6	4.8	3.0	12.4
3:9	Neat	24.6	[19.6	14.2	16.3	25.2]		13.4	[29.4	28.9	12.8]
3:10	Powerful	4.4	6.2	[17.6	18.2	53.8]		2.5	3.2	4.2	[22.3
3:11	Quick	17.9	[31.0	14.9	26.5]	9.6		16.9	[19.2	18.7	28.1]
3:12	Respectable	[38.0	22.5	24.6]	9.2	6.0		[36.7	32.1	13.2]	17.4
3:13	Smart	21.8	[16.1	23.7	19.8]	18.9		17.0	[14.6	21.1	36.5]
3:14	Sympathetic	[25.2	17.5	19.4	12.5	25.6]		[40.1	28.5	13.6]	13.9
3:15	Willing	24.6	[19.5	18.4	18.6]	19.2		14.7	[24.3	38.8]	15.8
4:1	Brave	7.5	12.0	[22.0	24.7	34.2]		4.7	4.1	15.4	[35.1
4:2	Clean	[30.9	23.5	27.2]	17.6	1.0		[47.2	22.4	17.0]	3.8
4:3	Curious	20.9	[23.2	30.8	15.7]	9.8		17.2	[19.7	20.7	25.3]
4:4	Fearless	4.2	1.4	7.3	[22.7	64.5]		2.9	2.6	8.6	[24.5
4:5	Gallant	4.6	5.6	[22.8	29.7	37.5]		0.2	5.1	14.5	[29.0
4:6	Grateful	12.9	[33.2	26.8	20.8]	6.5		19.9	[42.7	15.9]	16.7
4:7	Kind	[30.4	37.8	18.7]	12.2	1.1		[46.8	32.2]	13.9	4.3
4:8	Mature	[28.5	24.3	20.2	16.2]	11.1		22.7	[28.8	29.0]	14.2
4:9	Original	[28.9	16.8	12.2	18.7]	23.4		7.2	10.1	[8.9	31.5
4:10	Practical	[31.8	18.1	18.4	18.4]	13.4		[35.2	13.2	28.8]	13.2
4:11	Reasonable	[31.2	22.7	19.7	21.0]	5.5		[25.3	32.6	23.6]	14.0
4:12	Responsible	[44.2	27.1	15.7]	8.5	4.8		[40.5	31.2	17.6]	9.3
4:13	Social	11.8	[14.6	15.7	24.9	33.0]		8.0	[20.7	26.8	30.4]
4:14	Tender	7.7	11.7	[16.3	24.5	39.9]		20.9	[21.2	25.8	19.1]
4:15	Wise	4.6	[28.4	27.6	24.8]	14.8		2.6	15.6	[30.0	33.1]

TABLE IV-1 (continued)

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		Male					Female				
		++	+	0	—	—	—	0	+	—	—
5: 1	Active	17.0	[25.1	18.2	23.9]	15.8	[25.1	19.9	12.3	27.4]	15.4
5: 2	Ambitious	20.0	[21.3	28.8	11.0]	18.7	[18.3	17.0	18.3	19.6	26.7]
5: 3	Brilliant	1.2	7.3	6.2	9.6	[75.7]	6.9	4.4	3.6	[12.6	72.7]
5: 4	Capable	[30.2	29.6	20.6]	12.3	7.3	[31.9	33.0	20.1]	10.9	4.1
5: 5	Earnest	11.8	[30.3	38.6]	16.3	2.9	18.8	[31.1	25.4]	21.9	2.9
5: 6	Happy	18.7	[18.2	30.2	16.9]	15.9	20.6	[30.2	24.4	19.6]	5.5
5: 7	Merry	2.7	8.0	9.0	[31.8	48.5]	7.4	16.3	[13.5	22.3	40.5]
5: 8	Normal	[44.9	20.4	15.5]	10.7	8.5	[36.9	24.8	17.8]	18.4	2.4
5: 9	Pure	1.6	4.3	7.4	[35.3	51.6]	9.8	12.1	[18.9	24.6	34.5]
5:10	Sane	[43.8	25.3	22.2]	5.2	3.4	[36.7	31.0	15.6]	13.3	3.6
5:11	Sensible	[47.1	32.8]	14.1	4.0	2.1	[34.9	27.9	22.4]	7.9	6.9
5:12	Skillful	12.9	[14.1	12.1	33.7	27.3]	12.4	8.8	[15.1	29.0	34.9]
5:13	Stable	20.1	[21.8	23.0	27.7]	7.6	11.4	[22.5	26.5	18.8]	21.0
5:14	Steady	14.9	[29.1	28.1	24.0]	4.0	12.3	11.8	[31.2	26.0]	18.9
5:15	Upright	13.3	[12.3	25.4	37.2]	11.7	19.0	[13.3	29.3	27.9]	10.5
6: 1	Athletic	18.8	[8.1	23.1	12.0	38.2]	16.4	[18.8	14.9	7.8	42.4]
6: 2	Commercial	6.7	10.4	[19.1	39.4	25.1]	4.2	[28.9	15.4	28.6]	23.0
6: 3	Democratic	[39.7	26.4	23.2]	7.5	3.3	[53.2	35.0]	5.7	1.3	4.8
6: 4	Domestic	22.5	[26.1	21.8	19.0]	10.6	[52.5	22.2	8.8]	9.0	7.8
6: 5	Economic	13.1	[24.9	34.9	19.1]	8.1	22.0	[32.6	17.0	18.4]	10.3
6: 6	Executive	[31.1	19.6	18.6	22.6]	7.9	16.1	[30.7	18.0	21.5]	13.9
6: 7	Individualistic	[37.5	30.0	8.1]	13.6	11.0	[29.3	29.1	18.2]	6.5	16.9
6: 8	Industrial	7.3	[27.2	27.5	27.4]	11.2	4.9	18.1	[27.3	37.1]	13.3
6: 9	International	10.7	[22.9	19.8	18.5	28.2]	17.9	[15.3	32.9	23.4]	10.8
6:10	Mechanical	19.0	[24.1	18.8	11.0	26.9]	10.3	8.9	[12.0	44.0]	24.9
6:11	Professional	[41.9	23.6	19.8]	11.2	3.5	[36.9	19.0	27.9]	7.3	9.3
6:12	Radical	5.0	5.4	11.6	[29.5	48.3]	4.8	6.0	[21.6	27.6	40.3]
6:13	Revolutionary	0.9	19.0	[11.1	24.0	45.2]	5.8	12.0	[23.4	26.6	32.7]
6:14	Scientific	24.7	[19.1	19.9	23.6]	13.1	13.5	[14.9	30.5	19.0]	22.4
6:15	Technical	21.0	[14.4	23.2	21.9]	19.7	10.5	14.1	[26.7	23.0	25.7]

TABLE IV-2
NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SELF *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		Male				Female					
		++	+	0	--	++	+	0	--		
7: 1	Angry	11.3	[29.4	27.3	21.7]	24.0	[15.8	29.0	23.8]	7.5	
7: 2	Bitter	15.2	[36.9	19.0	20.5]	12.8	[16.2	34.7	19.3]	17.0	
7: 3	Childish	11.0	[17.7	38.9	19.4]	24.7	[29.2	18.2	19.0]	9.0	
7: 4	* Evil	3.0	4.3	14.3	[17.1	0.8	0.7	9.5	[20.5	68.5]	
7: 5	Feeble	6.2	12.7	[9.9	32.5	2.7	10.8	9.0	[32.6	45.0]	
7: 6	Gloomy	21.9	[30.5	18.9	14.3]	9.1	[32.7	25.9	26.1]	6.4	
7: 7	✓ Hasty	[56.8	15.4	13.3]	8.0	6.3	[66.5	17.8]	9.5	6.0	
7: 8	Jealous	[29.0	18.2	31.2]	11.1	10.5	[35.3	17.9	21.0	11.8]	
7: 9	Loud	23.1	[18.6	16.1	27.2]	14.0	[23.6	21.8	25.8]	14.6	
7:10	Reckless	21.2	[17.7	25.2	27.2]	20.2	[29.6	21.7	21.9]	6.7	
7:11	* Savage	2.8	13.4	[20.6	19.4	43.7]	2.9	3.6	14.9	[29.2	49.5]
7:12	Silly	12.8	[22.4	19.8	33.4]	11.6	21.4	[24.9	23.3	19.7]	10.6
7:13	* Stupid	4.0	9.1	10.2	[33.8	42.9]	1.7	18.4	[27.5	18.2	34.2]
7:14	* Vain	[33.5	29.7	23.4]	6.9	6.7	21.0	[33.4	19.4	15.4]	10.8
7:15	* Weary	[47.9	24.4	11.7]	7.1	9.0	[43.6	25.6	14.4]	10.3	6.2
8: 1	* Anxious	[63.3	22.7]	7.0	3.0	4.2	[67.5	16.1]	13.4	1.0	2.2
8: 2	Careless	[34.9	35.0	20.5]	5.3	4.4	[51.0	27.5]	16.1	5.3	0.2
8: 3	Clumsy	13.7	[33.3	29.9]	15.8	7.4	22.7	[42.3	23.9]	6.9	4.3
8: 4	False	5.1	12.3	[17.5	31.3	34.0]	3.7	2.6	[20.2	39.2	34.4]
8: 5	Foolish	17.7	[29.8	33.5]	16.7	2.4	11.8	[39.0	34.7]	10.4	4.2
8: 6	Greedy	6.7	16.6	[21.7	40.8]	14.1	1.6	[28.7	12.5	47.8]	9.4
8: 7	Helpless	0.9	7.5	[31.7	39.1]	20.8	9.9	[21.5	35.9	20.1]	12.6
8: 8	Lazy	[26.8	33.5	15.1]	15.5	9.1	[28.0	22.5	34.6]	10.5	4.7
8: 9	* Lying	0.2	12.2	11.6	[37.0	38.9]	2.7	1.6	8.7	[29.1	58.0]
8:10	Rough	13.5	[19.1	27.7	22.3]	17.5	6.3	12.2	[18.0	44.3]	19.3
8:11	* Selfish	[36.1	29.6	12.6]	14.7	7.1	16.2	[33.6	29.7]	16.8	3.8
8:12	* Slow	[38.5	19.3	22.8]	13.1	6.2	21.1	[26.4	23.4	20.7]	8.4

*The instruction: "How do you feel about yourself? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe you *the most*." Since the instruction *the most* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was chosen in the first three items (the *A* sub-group). The --- column reports the percentage in the *E* sub-group.

N = 352 (Set 7), 350 (Set 8), 340 (Set 9), 351 (Set 10).

TABLE IV-2 (continued)

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		Male					Female				
		++	+	0	--	++	+	0	--	++	+
8:13	Timid	[31.9	17.1	25.4	15.7]	9.8	18.6	19.4]	10.3	2.7	
8:14	Violent	7.8	9.7	[15.0	11.3	56.0]	8.0	7.0	[25.5	51.6]	
8:15	Wicked	3.0	2.7	8.3	[18.1	67.9]	0.8	0.6	8.3	12.4	[78.1]
9: 1	Ashamed	8.2	37.7	18.7]	7.7		8.4	[36.3	29.7	17.3]	8.5
9: 2	Cheap	1.1	18.8	[19.0	20.9	40.2]	0.2	1.5	16.2	[36.4	45.8]
9: 3	Cruel	5.5	7.1	[27.0	27.2	33.3]	0.9	4.4	[27.7	36.3	30.8]
9: 4	Fearful	17.1	[49.5	16.7]	12.6	4.3	[41.8	42.3]	9.8	2.6	3.7
9: 5	Fierce	0.4	11.8	[18.5	28.0	41.5]	1.3	6.2	[26.2	25.9	40.5]
9: 6	Guilty	8.2	[20.7	28.2	23.1]	19.8	8.1	[23.6	24.6	25.4]	18.3
9: 7	Hostile	11.6	[15.2	43.4	21.0]	8.9	7.2	[32.7	28.2	25.0]	7.0
9: 8	Lonesome	[36.4	27.9	19.0]	14.7	2.0	[34.3	33.8	18.1]	8.6	5.2
9: 9	Nervous	[58.2	21.4]	6.3	11.9	2.2	[70.8	16.0]	4.1	6.4	2.7
9:10	Rude	13.7	[20.5	26.2	26.0]	13.9	7.4	14.3	[40.8	28.1]	9.4
9:11	Shallow	6.1	[24.0	10.7	29.3	30.0]	10.7	12.1	[30.8	28.9]	17.5
9:12	Stubborn	[54.8	11.5	12.1]	15.1	6.5	[39.8	37.4]	8.7	9.3	4.7
9:13	Uncertain	[60.8	16.0]	5.0	10.5	7.5	[64.7	27.1]	4.9	0.6	2.8
9:14	Vulgar	9.1	10.1	[8.4	22.1	50.3]	0.9	3.1	10.0	[21.9	64.2]
9:15	Wild	9.0	[17.5	21.5	18.0	34.1]	3.9	8.9	[21.1	29.9	36.2]
10: 1	Backward	[28.9	19.9	19.0	21.8]	10.3	21.9	[14.3	21.4	31.4]	11.0
10: 2	Crazy	9.6	9.9	[13.1	14.2	53.0]	6.6	7.0	[16.7	18.4	51.4]
10: 3	Dangerous	6.3	5.4	4.1	[37.6	46.5]	1.8	3.4	11.1	[31.9	52.0]
10: 4	Desperate	12.3	[16.5	15.5	34.3]	21.3	14.6	[19.6	23.9	18.3]	23.6
10: 5	Dull	[39.7	13.9	23.9]	14.6	7.8	[43.7	16.0	22.8]	13.9	3.6
10: 6	Ignorant	8.3	[20.2	26.4	24.6]	20.2	11.5	[25.3	14.0	33.0]	16.4
10: 7	Mad	12.9	9.4	[15.5	23.4	38.7]	14.8	7.9	[19.4	25.0	33.1]
10: 8	Miserable	10.6	[24.2	37.6	17.4]	10.9	11.0	[33.2	24.0	22.9]	8.8
10: 9	Odd	[41.7	21.1	20.6]	9.6	6.9	[32.5	21.6	21.0]	14.1	10.9
10:10	Sad	[34.0	43.0]	12.0	6.5	4.4	[29.2	34.2	19.7]	9.4	7.4
10:11	Sorry	[33.3	35.8	17.0]	8.6	5.1	[45.6	31.6]	15.9	6.2	0.9
10:12	Unhappy	[25.9	31.7	23.6]	4.4	14.5	[30.8	30.2	19.0]	9.5	10.5
10:13	Unwholesome	3.8	11.8	[17.4	27.7	39.2]	1.2	8.5	[17.8	27.5	44.9]
10:14	Wretched	5.1	16.8	[26.7	38.2]	13.2	7.5	[21.0	23.1	27.9]	20.3
10:15	Wrong	[25.4	21.8	29.8]	17.0	5.8	[28.1	26.3	28.1]	12.4	5.1

TABLE IV-3
DESIRABLE POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Male				Percentages of responses						Female	
		++	+	0	—	—	—	—	++	+	—	0	—
11: 1	Beautiful	2.0	0.5	3.5	5.7	[88.4]			9.5	[15.6]	30.5	17.5	27.2]
11: 2	Famous	6.2	14.0	[14.6]	32.1	33.0]			5.1	5.0	[18.4]	32.9	38.5]
11: 3	Free	24.4		[27.8]	25.4]	6.7	15.8		14.8	[39.6]	21.6]	12.3	11.9
11: 4	Great	4.4	16.3	[20.8]	37.0]	21.8			7.1	6.9	[17.0]	33.5	36.2]
11: 5	Handsome	4.8	6.7	[14.3]	34.4	40.2]			0.2	2.8	5.2	[18.4]	73.5]
11: 6	Healthy	[79.3]	6.6	6.3	5.1	3.1			[74.3]	14.4]	10.3	0.9	0.3
11: 7	Important	4.4	15.7	[29.8]	46.6]	3.9			0.8	15.7	[30.4]	36.7]	17.3
11: 8	Loved	[45.2]	34.2]	9.9	6.7	4.1			[66.9]	20.1]	11.1	0.3	2.0
11: 9	Lucky	0.7	12.7	[15.0]	33.2	38.6]			2.2	13.8	[30.2]	34.2]	20.4
11: 10	Popular	5.3	[29.5]	32.8	29.8]	2.9			12.7	[24.0]	41.5]	15.3	6.9
11: 11	Prominent	7.8	[20.1]	33.8	16.4]	22.4			5.1	6.3	[20.5]	40.0	28.4]
11: 12	Rich	7.1	[21.2]	42.8	16.0]	13.1			12.6	11.1	[22.7]	33.8]	19.9
11: 13	Safe	3.3	[37.0]	29.2	25.2]	5.4			10.1	[44.5]	16.2	15.8]	13.6
11: 14	Secure	[44.2]	29.4	16.2]	6.3	4.0			[55.0]	27.3]	14.4	1.2	2.4
11: 15	Successful	[61.3]	28.7]	6.8	3.0	0.4			24.1	[54.0]	13.6	6.1	2.4

*The instruction: "If you had just three wishes, what would you *most* like to be? From the list of words below, choose the three which you would *most* like to be." Since the instruction *the most* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was chosen in the first three items (the *A* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *E* sub-group.
N = 379 (Set 11).

TABLE IV-4

TOLERABLE NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		++	+	0	—	—	—	—	+	0	—
12: 1	Afraid	22.9	[28.1	21.7	15.2]	12.3			[32.6	23.3	17.8
12: 2	Bad	22.5	[15.4	10.4	28.0]	24.1			11.0	11.7	[21.5
12: 3	Blind	13.9	3.7	[21.8	19.5	41.3]			9.6	11.7	[9.8
12: 4	Disgusting	3.1	13.0	[11.7	32.8	39.5]			3.1	11.8	[14.6
12: 5	Disliked	12.3	[31.6	24.5	14.4]	17.3			14.8	[17.4	14.5
12: 6	Hungry	[27.6	24.4	22.8	14.7]	10.7			[36.3	18.9	21.2]
12: 7	Inferior	5.4	[31.1	26.8	24.7]	12.3			8.7	[22.6	27.7
12: 8	Lame	[39.5	25.7	14.9]	10.3	10.0			[33.9	28.9	20.2]
12: 9	Lonely	12.7	[30.3	26.3	16.9]	13.8			10.8	[27.1	26.0
12:10	Lost	[43.5	25.9	17.2]	7.8	5.8			[42.4	29.2	13.8]
12:11	Peculiar	24.6	[18.9	32.1]	21.5	3.0			20.8	[20.3	35.0]
12:12	Poor	[38.0	17.3	22.1]	21.5	1.3			[45.1	21.8	22.5]
12:13	Sick	2.4	7.9	13.2	[27.7	48.8]			6.3	14.7	[21.2
12:14	Ugly	[29.1	19.5	21.4	18.2]	11.9			16.9	[26.9	25.3
12:15	Useless	3.1	8.1	13.3	[27.4	48.0]			5.8	11.8	[10.2

*The instruction: "If you had just three wishes, what would you *least* like to be? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe what you would *least* like to be." Since the instruction *least* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was left for one of the last three items (the *E* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *A* sub-group.
N = 374 (Set 12).

TABLE IV-5
VALUED ASSOCIATIONS *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		++	+	0	—	---	++	+	0	—	---
13: 1	Bold	17.4	[21.4	28.1	23.8]	9.5	4.0	[30.0	30.7	21.8]	13.9
13: 2	Conservative	[31.2	34.9	18.6]	11.0	4.3	22.0	[29.6	27.4]	16.1	5.1
13: 3	Definite	[38.9	48.6]	6.4	5.6	0.6	[45.3	35.5]	14.1	5.3	0.0
13: 4	✕ Different	4.8	13.7	[29.8	28.4]	23.4	5.1	[20.1	33.1	28.7]	13.2
13: 5	✕ Formal	2.0	6.1	[39.0	38.0]	15.0	0.0	1.6	[27.6	51.0]	19.9
13: 6	Humble	[50.3	29.6]	8.1	5.5	6.7	[67.5	14.6]	6.2	4.2	7.9
13: 7	Liberal	[50.1	26.7]	9.0	7.3	7.4	[70.7	19.5]	7.3	2.5	0.2
13: 8	Mysterious	0.0	9.3	4.5	[28.2	58.2]	0.4	0.8	16.7	[38.4	44.1]
13: 9	Particular	12.0	[35.7	31.1]	20.7	0.9	16.5	[47.8	29.6]	3.0	3.3
13: 10	Proud	[27.3	13.1	31.3	18.9]	9.6	20.1	[37.4	21.2]	18.6	2.8
13: 11	Restless	4.6	8.4	[18.4	30.8	38.0]	2.9	4.8	9.1	[37.5	45.8]
13: 12	Sharp	[28.2	14.9	16.2	16.7]	24.3	13.9	[23.5	21.8	16.7]	24.4
13: 13	Simple	[26.4	16.8	25.1	10.0]	21.7	[29.7	27.8	14.1	11.4]	17.2
13: 14	✕ Solemn	1.4	23.3	[23.7	36.6]	15.2	2.9	7.5	[35.0	33.3]	19.6
13: 15	✕ Suspicious	6.0	1.6	[11.4	15.4	65.6]	0.4	0.4	9.6	6.9	[82.9]
14: 1	Clever	[39.6	26.4	24.6]	6.8	2.7	[40.2	34.2	12.8]	9.9	3.2
14: 2	✕ Critical	8.6	[16.7	25.9	17.0	32.1]	4.1	20.3	[18.9	29.0	28.1]
14: 3	✕ Delicate	1.0	6.8	[31.3	19.5	41.7]	0.5	19.0	[22.6	33.8]	24.4
14: 4	Direct	[39.9	35.1	11.2]	10.0	4.0	[41.1	28.3	21.9]	8.4	0.4
14: 5	✕ Funny	5.8	[21.0	22.0	26.9]	24.3	5.7	[34.1	30.9]	23.8	
14: 6	Independent	[45.8	23.7	10.3]	18.5	2.0	[55.0	31.5]	9.3	3.3	1.0
14: 7	Mental	3.2	14.0	[12.8	14.9	55.3]	10.5	[18.0	10.5	9.5	51.8]
14: 8	Natural	[68.4	19.1]	5.4	1.5	5.6	[77.6]	8.2	14.2	0.0	0.2
14: 9	✕ Passionate	8.7	[16.8	17.0	30.3	27.4]	0.6	10.6	[26.3	27.5	35.2]
14: 10	Quiet	11.6	[37.1	17.6	23.3]	10.5	1.9	[27.3	27.3	35.7]	7.9
14: 11	Sensitive	13.0	[21.1	17.7	27.4]	20.9	[29.9	22.3	19.6	13.5]	14.9
14: 12	Shrewd	18.7	[11.1	25.5	32.2]	12.6	16.5	[17.6	15.4	28.2]	22.6

*The instruction: "To be happy and satisfied, what should a person be like? From the list of words below, choose the three which most describe what a person *should be*." Since the instruction *the most* was used the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was chosen in the first three items (the *A* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *E* sub-group. , *N* = 351 (Set 13), 351 (Set 14), 371 (Set 15).

TABLE IV-5 (continued)

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses									
		Male					Female				
		++	+	0	—	—	—	—	+	0	—
14:13	Smooth	14.6	[27.0	31.1	12.4]	15.2	[26.4	28.4	23.1]	19.5	
14:14	X Stern	5.0	6.0	[25.3	41.5]	22.4	1.6	15.1	[25.5	52.9]	
14:15	Sweet	16.3	[18.9	22.5	18.4]	24.0	[29.8	23.8	22.4]	14.7	
15: 1	X Cold	2.8	7.1	9.9	[30.7	49.6]	9.2	3.6	[28.1	58.3]	
15: 2	Cunning	15.8	[20.1	20.1	14.1	29.9]	[17.1	20.6	18.4	36.0]	
15: 3	Dependent	17.3	[19.3	12.8	19.4	31.2]	[18.7	17.7	31.3]	15.7	
15: 4	X Distant	0.5	16.5	[35.8	29.8]	17.5	2.2	10.3	[21.4	48.0]	
15: 5	X Hard	6.4	18.0	[29.5	20.4	25.8]	2.6	10.6	[12.5	17.1	57.5]
15: 6	Innocent	24.6	[34.5	13.3	18.4]	9.4	13.2	[42.1	23.3]	10.3	11.4
15: 7	Modern	[49.0	24.8	10.6]	15.3	0.5	[73.8	19.2]	3.8	1.1	2.5
15: 8	Old-fashioned	14.0	[17.4	27.1	24.2]	17.4	1.5	17.9	[47.6	21.4]	11.8
15: 9	Progressive	[67.6	13.8]	7.3	2.4	9.0	[88.4]	7.1	3.2	0.9	0.4
15:10	X Remote	4.1	11.6	[38.6	20.3	25.6]	2.5	15.0	[34.2	31.5]	17.0
15:11	Severe	4.3	14.5	[23.7	30.6	27.1]	0.0	11.2	[16.7	33.5	38.7]
15:12	X Shy	0.2	[27.3	16.8	30.4	25.4]	4.2	[31.2	34.8	15.3]	14.9
15:13	Soft	18.1	[18.7	15.1	27.7]	20.7	19.5	[25.4	21.0	20.9]	13.4
15:14	Strict	20.7	[34.2	29.1]	11.3	4.8	6.4	[45.1	27.3]	17.1	4.3
15:15	Youthful	[54.8	23.1]	11.2	4.8	6.2	[61.4	20.0]	13.2	5.5	0.2

TABLE IV-6
POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses						Male		Female	
		++	+	—	—	—	—	0	+	0	—
16:1	Brave	12.9	[16.8	31.7]	10.2	16.5	[17.6	24.7	17.6	24.7	16.7
16:2	Cheerful	[29.2	23.2	24.0]	4.2	[40.7	29.8	19.8]	8.4	24.4]	8.4
16:3	Decent	[42.5	11.4	21.5]	16.1	8.7	[54.7	18.0	8.4]	9.4	9.6
16:4	Firm	19.5	[30.5	20.0]	14.2	17.7	[16.6	22.3	22.4]	20.7	20.7
16:5	Gallant	5.2	10.6	22.7]	33.9]	6.2	9.1	[12.9	38.6	33.5]	33.5]
16:6	Grateful	16.3	[13.6	20.8	25.5]	23.7	6.1	[28.4	25.3	26.2]	14.2
16:7	Intelligent	[29.1	22.1	23.2	10.8]	14.9	23.9	[42.2	17.0]	5.0	11.9
16:8	Modest	8.6	[30.6	26.3	8.4	26.3]	9.1	[23.9	28.1	22.6]	16.8
16:9	Original	4.8	17.5	[18.8	21.9	37.0]	12.3	6.5	[19.3	30.0	31.8]
16:10	Powerful	14.2	[22.9	16.8	22.6]	23.6	15.4	7.5	[19.1	20.9	37.1]
16:11	Proper	14.0	[35.3	25.9	18.8]	6.3	15.7	[24.9	25.1	21.5]	12.6
16:12	Religious	17.8	[23.1	14.2	24.9]	20.2	17.4	[19.1	24.3	16.7]	22.6
16:13	Sincere	[37.7	14.4	9.5	26.7]	11.8	23.6	[24.7	18.4]	15.5]	15.5]
16:14	Spiritual	15.5	[13.3	12.9	17.3	40.9]	12.8	11.4	[15.4	26.7	33.9]
16:15	Understanding	[30.2	16.0	18.1	10.5	25.4]	[27.5	21.4	20.2	9.2]	22.0
17:1	Calm	10.9	10.3	[27.4	23.1	28.3]	8.4	6.8	[27.7	34.8]	22.2
17:2	Clean	[35.6	34.3	12.8]	12.9	4.3	[31.0	27.3	26.7]	7.2	7.9
17:3	Exact	12.2	11.7	[13.1	27.8	35.1]	7.7	9.5	[14.5	22.4	46.2]
17:4	Frank	15.0	[13.0	23.1	18.4	30.4]	8.8	8.4	[25.3	24.8	32.9]
17:5	Generous	[29.0	25.2	12.7	21.4]	11.7	[28.2	25.8	18.0	12.2]	15.7
17:6	Grateful	22.8	[17.1	28.4	14.4]	17.3	11.6	[25.8	14.9	23.2]	24.8
17:7	Kind	[40.6	21.8	27.8]	6.0	3.9	[46.3	21.8	17.1]	10.0	4.9
17:8	Moral	16.7	[22.1	26.3	15.3]	19.4	13.5	[29.8	28.0	16.7]	12.4
17:9	Patient	14.9	[14.6	13.5	33.5]	23.5	15.9	[15.6	9.9	14.6]	44.1]
17:10	Practical	20.4	[21.3	22.6	19.2]	16.5	[26.7	21.7	26.4	14.9]	11.0
17:11	Quick	22.0	[14.1	17.5	28.0]	18.2	16.7	[25.8	14.5	27.9]	15.6
17:12	Responsible	11.3	[34.2	19.4	12.4]	22.8	14.5	[25.0	18.3	24.1]	18.9

*The instruction: "How do you feel about people in general? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe people in general *the least*." Since the instruction *the least* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was left for one of the last three items (the *E* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *A* sub-group.
N = 367 (Set 16), 354 (Set 17), 365 (Set 18).

TABLE IV-6 (continued)

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses											
		Male					Female						
		++	+	0	--	++	+	0	--	++	+	0	--
17:13	Smart	12.7	[19.1	22.4	26.2]	18.4	[23.3	25.4	21.0]	12.3			
17:14	Strong	13.6	[16.9	17.4	25.8	26.2]	17.4	[18.0	20.0	24.4]	20.0		
17:15	Willing	22.0	[23.9	15.6	15.8]	[28.4	10.1	20.8	20.0]	12.1			
18: 1	Careful	11.0	13.8	[18.0	17.4	40.0]	8.5	14.3	[13.4	40.7]	23.0		
18: 2	Curious	[42.0	12.7	14.6	17.3]	13.3	[34.9	15.7	18.7	10.5]	20.2		
18: 3	Faithful	11.3	9.9	[22.4	37.0]	19.4	17.6	[13.1	21.8	22.4]	25.0		
18: 4	Friendly	[44.1	19.0	19.8]	9.4	7.8	[55.4	25.4]	6.5	5.6	7.2		
18: 5	Gentle	10.8	[22.6	35.8	20.5]	10.2	12.5	[22.3	21.1	31.4]	12.5		
18: 6	Honest	[31.2	21.9	21.0	8.1]	18.0	[28.1	37.3	15.8]	11.5	7.4		
18: 7	Loyal	10.2	[22.2	27.1	22.0]	18.3	8.4	[21.9	33.1	22.9]	13.9		
18: 8	Neat	17.4	[35.0	26.2]	16.7	4.8	23.9	[22.7	17.3	15.1]	21.0		
18: 9	Peaceful	22.7	[29.0	15.2	17.4]	15.9	[28.7	17.4	19.5]	23.6			
18:10	Prompt	16.8	[11.9	16.8	23.6	31.2]	10.0	10.8	[11.7	27.2	40.3]		
18:11	Reasonable	14.2	[23.8	8.5	22.3	18.8	[13.9	19.9	30.0]	17.5			
18:12	Serious	8.8	[25.3	22.7	33.4]	10.1	11.9	[29.2	27.7	18.3]	13.0		
18:13	Social	[41.5	25.7	10.6]	15.5	7.0	[39.8	21.2	21.5]	8.3	9.4		
18:14	Tender	9.4	[20.5	14.5	24.3	31.4]	12.0	[13.8	27.0	19.2	28.2]		
18:15	Wise	8.9	7.0	[27.4	15.4	41.7]	7.3	10.4	[25.4	19.1	38.0]		

TABLE IV-7
NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT *

Set: Item	Characteristic	Percentages of responses										Female 0	—	—
		++	+	0	—	—	—	++	+	0	—			
19: 1	Angry	6.0	16.9	[21.4	38.6]	17.4	8.2	7.3	[20.4	59.4]	5.0			
19: 2	~Ashamed	9.4	12.1	[27.2	28.8]	22.5	0.7	13.8	[31.6	45.6]	8.5			
19: 3	Cheap	13.1	[15.5	25.5	29.4]	16.6	3.0	4.3	[26.9	46.2]	19.8			
19: 4	Evil	6.7	4.8	2.6	[26.5	59.7]	0.4	2.9	2.8	3.5	[88.4]			
19: 5	Fearful	[35.5	31.2	16.3]	15.6	1.6	[42.9	29.8	14.4]	7.6	5.4			
19: 6	~Foolish	[26.9	32.3	29.2]	10.7	1.1	23.3	[38.0	33.1]	5.5	0.4			
19: 7	Hasty	[46.5	24.9	21.9]	4.7	2.1	[53.5	30.3]	10.0	6.1	0.4			
19: 8	Jealous	[29.8	34.7	22.2]	8.5	5.0	[25.2	39.4	26.3]	8.6	0.6			
19: 9	Loud	19.2	[31.3	31.6]	12.9	5.2	15.7	[27.2	29.2	24.9]	3.2			
19: 10	Nervous	[31.5	32.7	24.9]	9.2	1.9	[50.2	21.3	18.5]	9.3	0.8			
19: 11	Rough	5.3	8.2	[32.9	45.7]	8.1	10.8	14.1	[25.8	39.5]	9.9			
19: 12	Savage	1.1	2.6	9.5	[21.4	65.5]	1.1	5.5	6.8	[17.8	69.2]			
19: 13	Silly	22.3	[30.9	19.1	13.6]	14.3	18.2	[31.1	34.1]	16.2	0.8			
19: 14	Vain	[46.4	22.4	12.7]	8.0	10.6	[45.0	33.1]	16.0	3.2	3.2			
19: 15	Wicked	0.5	1.3	4.2	[26.1	67.8]	2.3	2.9	2.7	7.7	[84.7]			
20: 1	~Anxious	[72.2	15.9]	4.0	7.3	0.6	[73.8	10.7]	11.5	1.1	3.4			
20: 2	Bitter	12.1	[30.8	29.0	16.4]	12.0	3.1	[32.3	39.4	19.5]	5.9			
20: 3	Cruel	4.6	12.7	[8.3	21.2	54.0]	2.4	5.3	[19.8	26.0	46.8]			
20: 4	False	15.6	[29.7	20.9	21.7]	12.4	17.4	[18.6	25.2	24.5]	14.6			
20: 5	Fierce	3.3	3.9	6.0	[18.2	68.7]	0.2	4.1	6.2	[24.8	64.9]			
20: 6	Guilty	3.1	18.8	[14.3	47.1]	17.2	5.5	13.7	[17.7	32.4	31.0]			
20: 7	Helpless	[31.7	18.6	20.6	18.3]	11.1	[25.2	43.0	12.1]	11.5	8.0			
20: 8	~Lazy	[33.1	22.7	29.6]	7.8	7.3	[39.9	23.4	21.8]	11.2	4.4			
20: 9	Lying	6.1	6.9	[29.3	28.3	29.8]	2.7	8.4	12.6	[42.4	33.9]			
20: 10	Reckless	18.6	[30.1	18.4	20.5]	12.6	[26.2	28.0	19.0	14.9]	12.0			
20: 11	Rude	15.8	[33.3	27.7]	19.7	3.8	11.7	[15.3	44.1	26.3]	2.7			
20: 12	~Shallow	[39.9	21.7	17.4]	18.2	3.1	[34.6	26.5	16.4]	14.9	8.0			
20: 13	Slow	21.1	[30.6	31.0]	8.5	9.1	21.2	[32.5	26.6]	15.0	4.8			
20: 14	Weary	22.1	[17.2	30.0	16.9]	14.0	[29.6	34.5	16.3]	15.1	4.6			
20: 15	Wild	1.4	8.0	13.8	[32.2	45.1]	6.7	3.9	12.4	[20.8	56.4]			

*The instruction: "How do you feel about people in general? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe people in general *the most*." Since the instruction *the most* was used, the ++ column reports the percentage of times the characteristic was chosen in the first three items (the *A* sub-group). The — column reports the percentage in the *E* sub-group.
N = 367 (Set 19), 361 (Set 20).

TABLE IV-8
POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SELF *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
1: 1	Accurate	1.74	1.81	160	1.25	1.34	204
1: 2	Calm	1.54	1.68	160	1.06	1.26	204
1: 3	Competent	2.41	1.50	160	2.15	1.41	204
1: 4	Decent	2.60	1.61	160	2.81	1.18	204
1: 5	Firm	1.25	1.39	160	0.74	0.89	204
1: 6	Generous	2.12	1.67	160	2.72	1.26	204
1: 7	Honest	3.05	1.08	160	3.28	0.80	204
1: 8	Loving	2.19	1.82	160	2.76	1.53	204
1: 9	Modest	1.62	1.47	160	1.71	1.09	204
1:10	Patient	1.18	1.60	160	1.46	1.96	204
1:11	Prompt	2.32	2.06	160	1.74	2.00	204
1:12	Reliable	2.97	1.27	160	2.78	1.14	204
1:13	Serious	2.10	1.87	160	2.12	2.02	204
1:14	Spiritual	1.02	2.00	160	1.11	1.91	204
1:15	Thankful	1.94	1.71	160	2.25	1.85	204
2: 1	Affectionate	2.12	2.12	160	2.72	1.40	204
2: 2	Careful	1.56	1.81	156	1.24	1.28	206
2: 3	Contented	1.23	1.77	156	1.42	2.17	206
2: 4	Exact	1.62	1.83	156	0.83	1.15	206
2: 5	Frank	2.40	1.66	156	1.75	2.14	206
2: 6	Gentle	1.91	1.70	156	2.00	1.00	206
2: 7	Intelligent	2.66	1.08	156	2.52	1.31	206
2: 8	Loyal	2.77	1.23	156	2.71	1.15	206
2: 9	Moral	2.18	1.70	156	2.71	1.33	206
2:10	Peaceful	2.13	1.44	156	1.68	1.53	206
2:11	Proper	1.33	1.37	156	1.24	1.71	206
2:12	Religious	1.32	2.21	156	1.26	1.65	206
2:13	Sincere	3.28	0.96	156	3.49	0.60	206
2:14	Strong	1.26	1.63	156	1.26	1.16	206
2:15	Understanding	2.16	1.97	156	3.13	0.93	206
3: 1	Alert	2.11	1.55	158	2.10	1.88	205
3: 2	Cheerful	1.91	1.07	158	2.41	1.40	205
3: 3	Courteous	2.63	1.66	158	2.70	1.23	205
3: 4	Faithful	2.63	1.62	158	2.74	1.21	205
3: 5	Friendly	2.55	1.60	158	2.73	1.76	205
3: 6	Graceful	0.79	1.30	158	0.98	1.08	205
3: 7	Joyful	1.30	1.29	158	1.40	1.36	205
3: 8	Manly	2.04	1.70	158	0.51	1.15	205
3: 9	Neat	2.02	2.35	158	2.12	1.58	205
3:10	Powerful	0.90	1.34	158	0.50	0.83	205
3:11	Quick	2.21	1.63	158	1.91	1.81	205
3:12	Respectable	2.78	1.45	158	2.87	1.23	205
3:13	Smart	2.03	1.96	158	1.91	1.59	205
3:14	Sympathetic	2.05	2.31	158	2.87	1.43	205
3:15	Willing	2.12	2.12	158	2.25	1.19	205
4: 1	Brave	1.35	1.58	148	0.97	1.15	209
4: 2	Clean	2.66	1.25	148	2.94	1.64	209

*The instruction: "How do you feel about yourself? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe you *the least*."

TABLE IV-8 (continued)

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
4: 3	Curious	2.31	1.48	148	1.95	1.80	209
4: 4	Fearless	0.58	0.98	148	0.61	0.91	209
4: 5	Gallant	1.11	1.22	148	0.74	0.81	209
4: 6	Grateful	2.26	1.22	148	2.56	1.28	209
4: 7	Kind	2.85	1.01	148	3.16	1.00	209
4: 8	Mature	2.44	1.76	148	2.49	1.33	209
4: 9	Original	2.09	2.44	148	1.08	1.57	209
4:10	Practical	2.37	2.02	148	2.51	1.80	209
4:11	Reasonable	2.53	1.63	148	2.60	1.31	209
4:12	Responsible	2.98	1.34	148	3.00	1.09	209
4:13	Social	1.47	1.92	148	1.78	1.35	209
4:14	Tender	1.23	1.67	148	2.18	1.72	209
4:15	Wise	1.84	1.26	148	1.50	1.10	209
5: 1	Active	2.04	1.78	149	2.05	1.99	208
5: 2	Ambitious	2.13	1.84	149	1.82	2.14	208
5: 3	Brilliant	0.37	1.06	149	0.60	1.37	208
5: 4	Capable	2.65	1.42	149	2.78	1.26	208
5: 5	Earnest	2.32	0.94	149	2.41	1.23	208
5: 6	Happy	2.07	1.72	149	2.41	1.38	208
5: 7	Merry	0.85	1.11	149	1.28	1.78	208
5: 8	Normal	2.83	1.74	149	2.76	1.41	208
5: 9	Pure	0.69	0.70	149	1.38	1.75	208
5:10	Sane	3.01	1.16	149	2.84	1.35	208
5:11	Sensible	3.19	0.92	149	2.76	1.45	208
5:12	Skillful	1.52	1.84	149	1.35	1.85	208
5:13	Stable	2.20	1.54	149	1.85	1.67	208
5:14	Steady	2.27	1.21	149	1.73	1.55	208
5:15	Upright	1.78	1.45	149	2.02	1.61	208
6: 1	Athletic	1.60	2.22	147	1.60	2.43	206
6: 2	Commercial	1.36	1.32	147	1.63	1.52	206
6: 3	Democratic	2.92	1.20	147	3.31	0.95	206
6: 4	Domestic	2.31	1.67	147	3.03	1.66	206
6: 5	Economic	2.16	1.26	147	2.38	1.65	206
6: 6	Executive	2.43	1.81	147	2.14	1.69	206
6: 7	Individualistic	2.70	1.87	147	2.47	2.00	206
6: 8	Industrial	1.93	1.27	147	1.66	1.12	206
6: 9	International	1.70	1.86	147	2.07	1.51	206
6:10	Mechanical	1.97	2.19	147	1.36	1.52	206
6:11	Professional	2.89	1.38	147	2.68	1.62	206
6:12	Radical	0.89	1.25	147	1.08	1.28	206
6:13	Revolutionary	1.07	1.39	147	1.33	1.44	206
6:14	Scientific	2.20	1.86	147	1.79	1.71	206
6:15	Technical	1.95	2.00	147	1.61	1.65	206

TABLE IV-9
NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SELF *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
7: 1	Angry	2.10	1.35	147	2.25	1.60	205
7: 2	Bitter	2.30	1.43	147	1.89	1.51	205
7: 3	Childish	1.94	1.34	147	2.42	1.64	205
7: 4	Evil	0.71	1.11	147	0.45	0.57	205
7: 5	Feeble	1.15	1.53	147	0.92	1.24	205
7: 6	Gloomy	2.31	1.81	147	2.12	1.20	205
7: 7	Hasty	3.08	1.60	147	3.44	0.85	205
7: 8	Jealous	2.48	1.49	147	2.49	2.02	205
7: 9	Loud	2.08	1.93	147	1.96	1.65	205
7:10	Reckless	2.16	1.60	147	2.35	1.46	205
7:11	Savage	1.12	1.42	147	0.81	1.02	205
7:12	Silly	1.91	1.54	147	2.27	1.64	205
7:13	Stupid	0.98	1.24	147	1.35	1.39	205
7:14	Vain	2.77	1.37	147	2.38	1.63	205
7:15	Weary	2.95	1.70	147	2.90	1.55	205
8: 1	Anxious	3.38	1.06	147	3.46	0.82	203
8: 2	Careless	2.91	1.14	147	3.24	0.83	203
8: 3	Clumsy	2.30	1.25	147	2.72	1.07	203
8: 4	False	1.23	1.42	147	1.02	0.99	203
8: 5	Foolish	2.44	1.07	147	2.44	0.94	203
8: 6	Greedy	1.61	1.25	147	1.65	1.09	203
8: 7	Helpless	1.29	0.81	147	1.96	1.31	203
8: 8	Lazy	2.53	1.66	147	2.59	1.29	203
8: 9	Lying	0.98	1.00	147	0.62	0.83	203
8:10	Rough	1.89	1.64	147	1.42	1.25	203
8:11	Selfish	2.73	1.64	147	2.42	1.12	203
8:12	Slow	2.71	1.60	147	2.31	1.56	203
8:13	Timid	2.45	1.81	147	3.01	1.35	203
8:14	Violent	1.02	1.79	147	0.95	1.58	203
8:15	Wicked	0.55	0.93	147	0.34	0.52	203
9: 1	Ashamed	2.11	1.09	152	2.19	1.18	188
9: 2	Cheap	1.20	1.40	152	0.74	0.63	188
9: 3	Cruel	1.25	1.31	152	1.09	0.82	188
9: 4	Fearful	2.63	1.07	152	3.16	0.93	188
9: 5	Fierce	1.02	1.11	152	1.02	1.03	188
9: 6	Guilty	1.74	1.51	152	1.78	1.49	188
9: 7	Hostile	2.00	1.17	152	2.08	1.15	188
9: 8	Lonesome	2.82	1.29	152	2.83	1.33	188
9: 9	Nervous	3.22	1.24	152	3.46	1.02	188
9:10	Rude	1.95	1.54	152	1.82	1.07	188
9:11	Shallow	1.47	1.70	152	1.70	1.43	188
9:12	Stubborn	2.93	1.85	152	2.98	1.29	188
9:13	Uncertain	3.12	1.74	152	3.51	0.67	188
9:14	Vulgar	1.06	1.80	152	0.55	0.74	188
9:15	Wild	1.50	1.81	152	1.14	1.27	188
10: 1	Backward	2.35	1.87	148	2.05	1.76	203
10: 2	Crazy	1.09	1.90	148	0.99	1.56	203
10: 3	Dangerous	0.84	1.28	148	0.72	0.84	203

*The instruction: "How do you feel about yourself? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe you *the most*."

TABLE IV-9 (*continued*)

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
10: 4	Desperate	1.64	1.73	148	1.83	1.89	203
10: 5	Dull	2.63	1.79	148	2.82	1.53	203
10: 6	Ignorant	1.71	1.52	148	1.83	1.66	203
10: 7	Mad	1.34	1.97	148	1.47	1.94	203
10: 8	Miserable	2.08	1.23	148	2.15	1.31	203
10: 9	Odd	2.81	1.59	148	2.51	1.82	203
10:10	Sad	2.96	1.09	148	2.68	1.45	203
10:11	Sorry	2.83	1.31	148	3.15	0.92	203
10:12	Unhappy	2.50	1.74	148	2.61	1.69	203
10:13	Unwholesome	1.13	1.37	148	0.93	1.08	203
10:14	Wretched	1.62	1.15	148	1.67	1.50	203
10:15	Wrong	2.44	1.43	148	2.60	1.35	203

TABLE IV-10
DESIRABLE POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
11: 1	Beautiful	0.22	0.51	155	1.63	1.66	224
11: 2	Famous	1.28	1.52	155	1.05	1.23	224
11: 3	Free	2.39	1.78	155	2.34	1.44	224
11: 4	Great	1.45	1.27	155	1.17	1.40	224
11: 5	Handsome	1.02	1.25	155	0.38	0.53	224
11: 6	Healthy	3.55	0.98	155	3.62	0.50	224
11: 7	Important	1.71	0.85	155	1.48	0.93	224
11: 8	Loved	3.10	1.16	155	3.50	0.71	224
11: 9	Lucky	1.04	1.11	155	1.45	1.04	224
11:10	Popular	2.05	0.91	155	2.21	1.12	224
11:11	Prominent	1.76	1.48	155	1.20	1.16	224
11:12	Rich	1.94	1.15	155	1.63	1.60	224
11:13	Safe	2.08	0.95	155	2.22	1.50	224
11:14	Secure	3.04	1.19	155	3.32	0.82	224
11:15	Successful	3.48	0.58	155	2.92	0.79	224

*The instruction: "If you had just three wishes, what would you *most* like to be? From the list of words below, choose the three which you would *most* like to be."

TABLE IV-11
TOLERABLE NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
12: 1	Afraid	2.35	1.69	158	2.53	1.79	216
12: 2	Bad	1.85	2.26	158	1.59	1.51	216
12: 3	Blind	1.30	1.93	158	1.14	1.89	216
12: 4	Disgusting	1.08	1.30	158	1.09	1.28	216
12: 5	Disliked	2.07	1.65	158	1.64	2.06	216
12: 6	Hungry	2.44	0.92	158	2.62	1.67	216
12: 7	Inferior	1.93	1.26	158	1.88	1.30	216
12: 8	Lame	2.75	1.77	158	2.72	1.52	216
12: 9	Lonely	2.11	1.53	158	2.00	1.45	216
12:10	Lost	2.94	1.41	158	2.94	1.41	216
12:11	Peculiar	2.41	1.33	158	2.31	1.39	216
12:12	Poor	2.70	1.45	158	3.01	1.12	216
12:13	Sick	0.87	1.14	158	1.31	1.65	216
12:14	Ugly	2.36	1.88	158	2.19	1.54	216
12:15	Useless	0.91	1.20	158	0.98	1.63	216

*The instruction: "If you had just three wishes, what would you *least* like to be? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe what you would *least* like to be."

TABLE IV-12
VALUED ASSOCIATIONS *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
13: 1	Bold	2.14	1.49	152	1.89	1.21	199
13: 2	Conservative	2.78	1.26	152	2.48	1.29	199
13: 3	Definite	3.20	0.67	152	3.21	0.76	199
13: 4	Different	1.48	1.29	152	1.76	1.14	199
13: 5	Formal	1.42	0.79	152	1.11	0.53	199
13: 6	Humble	3.12	1.36	152	3.30	1.51	199
13: 7	Liberal	3.06	1.49	152	3.58	0.57	199
13: 8	Mysterious	0.65	0.88	152	0.76	0.61	199
13: 9	Particular	2.38	0.92	152	2.72	0.76	199
13:10	Proud	2.30	1.70	152	2.55	1.11	199
13:11	Restless	1.11	1.30	152	0.82	0.96	199
13:12	Sharp	2.07	2.38	152	1.86	1.92	199
13:13	Simple	2.16	2.17	152	2.42	2.08	199
13:14	Solemn	1.60	1.08	152	1.39	0.96	199
13:15	Suspicious	0.67	1.27	152	0.29	0.47	199
14: 1	Clever	2.94	1.12	155	2.99	1.18	214
14: 2	Critical	1.53	1.74	155	1.44	1.46	214
14: 3	Delicate	1.07	1.07	155	1.38	1.13	214
14: 4	Direct	2.97	1.27	155	3.02	0.96	214
14: 5	Funny	1.57	1.50	155	1.39	1.17	214
14: 6	Independent	2.93	1.47	155	3.36	0.75	214
14: 7	Mental	0.95	1.53	155	1.27	2.20	214
14: 8	Natural	3.43	1.13	155	3.63	0.55	214
14: 9	Passionate	1.50	1.64	155	1.14	1.08	214
14:10	Quiet	2.16	1.47	155	1.80	0.97	214
14:11	Sensitive	1.78	1.79	155	2.39	2.00	214
14:12	Shrewd	1.91	1.68	155	1.78	1.95	214
14:13	Smooth	2.14	1.55	155	1.70	1.29	214
14:14	Stern	1.30	1.07	155	0.81	1.16	214
14:15	Sweet	1.85	1.25	155	1.99	1.47	214
15: 1	Cold	0.92	0.94	155	0.65	0.89	216
15: 2	Cunning	1.78	2.11	155	1.44	1.79	216
15: 3	Dependent	1.72	2.25	155	1.91	1.77	216
15: 4	Distant	1.53	0.95	155	1.31	0.90	216
15: 5	Hard	1.59	1.50	155	0.84	1.34	216
15: 6	Innocent	2.47	1.66	155	2.39	1.22	216
15: 7	Modern	3.07	1.22	155	3.62	0.59	216
15: 8	Old-fashioned	1.87	1.64	155	1.76	0.87	216
15: 9	Progressive	3.29	1.55	155	3.82	0.33	216
15:10	Remote	1.49	1.23	155	1.55	1.03	216
15:11	Severe	1.39	1.31	155	1.01	0.99	216
15:12	Shy	1.47	1.30	155	1.95	1.22	216
15:13	Soft	1.86	2.00	155	2.17	1.75	216
15:14	Strict	2.55	1.16	155	2.33	0.92	216
15:15	Youthful	3.16	1.36	155	3.38	0.78	216

*The instruction: "To be happy and satisfied, what should a person be like? From the list of words below, choose the three which most describe what a person *should be*."

TABLE IV-13

POSITIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
16: 1	Brave	1.93	1.30	150	2.07	1.17	217
16: 2	Cheerful	2.50	1.55	150	3.00	1.07	217
16: 3	Decent	2.63	1.93	150	2.99	1.86	217
16: 4	Firm	2.21	1.82	150	1.88	1.91	217
16: 5	Gallant	1.31	1.40	150	1.17	1.34	217
16: 6	Graceful	1.73	1.93	150	1.86	1.35	217
16: 7	Intelligent	2.40	1.92	150	2.61	1.54	217
16: 8	Modest	1.87	1.77	150	1.87	1.46	217
16: 9	Original	1.31	1.60	150	1.37	1.75	217
16:10	Powerful	1.82	1.92	150	1.43	2.07	217
16:11	Proper	2.33	1.21	150	2.09	1.60	217
16:12	Religious	1.94	1.98	150	1.62	3.02	217
16:13	Sincere	2.40	2.22	150	2.23	1.92	217
16:14	Spiritual	1.45	2.26	150	1.43	1.91	217
16:15	Understanding	2.16	2.43	150	2.24	2.21	217
17: 1	Calm	1.52	1.69	148	1.44	1.34	216
17: 2	Clean	2.84	1.36	148	2.67	1.43	216
17: 3	Exact	1.38	1.90	148	1.11	1.66	216
17: 4	Frank	1.64	1.99	148	1.36	1.57	216
17: 5	Generous	2.38	1.97	148	2.38	2.01	216
17: 6	Grateful	2.14	1.89	148	1.77	1.87	216
17: 7	Kind	2.89	1.28	148	2.95	1.45	216
17: 8	Moral	2.01	1.83	148	2.16	1.46	216
17: 9	Patient	1.64	1.88	148	1.45	2.39	216
17:10	Practical	2.10	1.87	148	2.40	1.67	216
17:11	Quick	1.93	2.04	148	2.01	1.81	216
17:12	Responsible	1.99	1.83	148	1.94	1.78	216
17:13	Smart	1.79	1.70	148	2.15	1.64	216
17:14	Strong	1.66	1.90	148	1.88	1.91	216
17:15	Willing	2.07	2.17	148	2.33	1.87	216
18: 1	Careful	1.41	1.91	151	1.44	1.52	214
18: 2	Curious	2.53	2.22	151	2.35	2.33	214
18: 3	Faithful	1.57	1.50	151	1.76	1.99	214
18: 4	Friendly	2.82	1.70	151	3.16	1.48	214
18: 5	Gentle	2.03	1.28	151	1.91	1.52	214
18: 6	Honest	2.41	2.08	151	2.67	1.47	214
18: 7	Loyal	1.84	1.55	151	1.88	1.33	214
18: 8	Neat	2.44	1.20	151	2.13	2.17	214
18: 9	Peaceful	2.26	1.92	151	1.84	1.83	214
18:10	Prompt	1.60	2.11	151	1.23	1.80	214
18:11	Reasonable	1.68	2.15	151	1.87	1.86	214
18:12	Serious	1.90	1.32	151	2.09	1.45	214
18:13	Social	2.80	1.69	151	2.74	1.71	214
18:14	Tender	1.52	1.86	151	1.63	1.78	214
18:15	Wise	1.27	1.69	151	1.30	1.62	214

*The instruction: "How do you feel about people in general? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe people in general *the least*."

TABLE IV-14
NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT *

Set:Item	Characteristic	Male			Female		
		Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)	Mean (\bar{X})	Variance (s^2)	Sample size (N)
19: 1	Angry	1.56	1.29	154	1.55	0.98	213
19: 2	Ashamed	1.57	1.50	154	1.53	0.73	213
19: 3	Cheap	1.79	1.60	154	1.25	0.84	213
19: 4	Evil	0.73	1.34	154	0.23	0.50	213
19: 5	Fearful	2.84	1.23	154	2.97	1.38	213
19: 6	Foolish	2.73	1.03	154	2.79	0.74	213
19: 7	Hasty	3.09	1.06	154	3.31	0.79	213
19: 8	Jealous	2.76	1.25	154	2.80	0.88	213
19: 9	Loud	2.47	1.18	154	2.28	1.18	213
19:10	Nervous	2.83	1.06	154	3.11	1.11	213
19:11	Rough	1.57	0.89	154	1.77	1.29	213
19:12	Savage	0.53	0.72	154	0.52	0.85	213
19:13	Silly	2.34	1.77	154	2.51	0.94	213
19:14	Vain	2.86	1.85	154	3.15	0.93	213
19:15	Wicked	0.40	0.47	154	0.31	0.72	213
20: 1	Anxious	3.52	0.83	152	3.51	0.92	209
20: 2	Bitter	2.15	1.41	152	2.08	0.85	209
20: 3	Cruel	0.94	1.54	152	0.91	1.08	209
20: 4	False	2.15	1.60	152	2.00	1.71	209
20: 5	Fierce	0.55	1.00	152	0.50	0.65	209
20: 6	Guilty	1.45	1.13	152	1.31	1.43	209
20: 7	Helpless	2.42	1.90	152	2.67	1.41	209
20: 8	Lazy	2.68	1.42	152	2.83	1.43	209
20: 9	Lying	1.32	1.31	152	1.04	1.03	209
20:10	Reckless	2.22	1.70	152	2.42	1.76	209
20:11	Rude	2.38	1.17	152	2.07	0.99	209
20:12	Shallow	2.78	1.49	152	2.67	1.60	209
20:13	Slow	2.47	1.35	152	2.51	1.23	209
20:14	Weary	2.17	1.74	152	2.70	1.35	209
20:15	Wild	0.89	1.03	152	0.84	1.42	209

*The instruction: "How do you feel about people in general? From the list of words below, choose the three which describe people in general *the most*."

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